

William
PINNOCK'S IMPROVED EDITION
OF
DR. *✓* GOLDSMITH'S
HISTORY OF GREECE,
ABRIDGED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND VERY CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED, BY
THE ADDITION OF SEVERAL NEW CHAPTERS AND
NUMEROUS USEFUL NOTES.

By Wm. C. Taylor, U.S.
TOGETHER WITH

QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION,
AT THE END OF EACH SECTION.



ILLUSTRATED WITH THIRTY-TWO ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD
BY ATHERTON.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, AUGMENTED AND IMPROVED.

PHILADELPHIA :
PUBLISHED BY KEY AND BIDDLE.
1836.

IF 215

G 62

1836

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1835, by
KEY & BIDDLE,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of
Pennsylvania.

2324

STEREOTYPED BY L. JOHNSON,
PHILADELPHIA.

1 763

P R E F A C E.

29

THE alterations that have been made in this new edition of the Grecian history are so numerous and extensive, as almost to make it a new work. The original history of Dr. Goldsmith contains many anecdotes of questionable authority, and very doubtful interest, derived from Plutarch and Curtius, while such important matters as the Dorian migration and the sedition of Cylon are wholly omitted. The compiler of the abridgment, following the same track, hurried over some of the most important periods with brief and scanty notice, while he assigned very disproportionate length to a few isolated incidents. The present editor has endeavoured to remedy both evils, by abridging whatever appeared too diffuse, expanding those parts which were so brief as to be scarcely intelligible, and supplying the numerous omissions of the original work. The authorities to which he has principally had recourse, are the histories of Gillies and Mitford in the earlier part of the work, and Leland and Gast for the period subsequent to the third Peloponnesian war. A brief sketch of modern Grecian history is subjoined, in order that the student may have an opportunity of comparing the present prospects with the former fame of Greece.

The introductory chapters are for the most part an abridgment of Professor Heeren's valuable work on the political history of Greece : they contain a view of the principal causes that operated in forming the national character of that people, whose history the student

is about to peruse, and a sketch of those circumstances of situation, climate, religion, and government, which influenced, in no small degree, the various fortunes of the different states.

The concluding chapters contain some account of Grecian literature and philosophy, designed to stimulate, rather than gratify curiosity: and to excite in the youthful student a desire for more intimate acquaintance with those works which, after the lapse of so many centuries, still continue the noblest monuments of human genius.

A brief sketch of the history of the minor states and of the islands is subjoined to the Appendix, and references are given to the share they had in any of the transactions recorded in the body of the work.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
Natural and political geography of Greece.....	13

CHAPTER II.

The principal Grecian cities.—Athens, Thebes, Delphi, Sparta, Corinth.....	23
--	----

CHAPTER III.

The religion of Greece, and its effects on the national character...	33
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

The influence of the mysteries and oracles on the Grecian character	38
---	----

CHAPTER V.

The public games and festivals.....	44
-------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VI.

The general constitution of the Grecian states.....	48
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

The mode of raising and supporting the army and navy.....	53
---	----

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

From the fabulous and heroic ages, to the abolition of royalty in the several states...	59
---	----

CHAPTER II.

Of the government of Sparta, and the laws of Lycurgus.

SECTION I.

The legislation of Lycurgus..... 68

SECTION II.

The laws of Lycurgus that more particularly influenced the Spartan character, and the first Messenian war..... 74

SECTION III.

The second Messenian war..... 79

CHAPTER III.

Of the government of Athens, the laws of Solon, and the history of the republic from the time of Solon to the commencement of the first Persian war.

SECTION I.

Dissensions at Athens—legislation of Solon..... 85

SECTION II.

The sacred war against the Crisseans and Cirrheans—the usurpation of the Peisistratidæ..... 92

CHAPTER IV.

From the expulsion of Hippias to the death of Miltiades.

SECTION I.

The preparations made by Darius for the invasion of Greece..... 100

SECTION II.

First Persian invasion..... 105

CHAPTER V.

From the death of Miltiades to the retreat of Xerxes out of Greece.

SECTION I.

The extensive preparations of Xerxes for the invasion of Greece, and the measures taken by the Greeks to secure their independence..... 111

SECTION II.

Second Persian invasion; battles of Thermopylæ, Artemisium and Salamis..... 117

CHAPTER VI.

From the retreat of Xerxes out of Greece to the battle of Mycale. . . 127 Page

CHAPTER VII.

From the battle of Mycale to the peace concluded between the
Greeks and Persians.

SECTION I.

The rebuilding of Athens—The conspiracy of Pausanias, and banish-
ment of Themistocles. 133

SECTION II.

The conclusion of the second Persian war. 138

CHAPTER VIII.

From the peace with Persia to the peace of Nicias.

SECTION I.

The causes that led to the war between Athens and Sparta—The
Corcyrean war. 143

SECTION II.

First Peloponnesian war—*The great plague*—The siege and
destruction of Platæa. 149

SECTION III.

First Peloponnesian war continued—The narrow escape of the
Lesbians—The civil wars of Corcyra—The affair at Pylos—
Death of Cleon and Brasidas—Peace of Nicias. 153

CHAPTER IX.

From the peace of Nicias to the end of the Peloponnesian war.

SECTION I.

The causes that led to a renewal of the war between Athens and
Sparta. 159

SECTION II.

The Athenian expedition to Sicily. 164

SECTION III.

The siege of Syracuse. 169

SECTION IV.

	Page
The destruction of the Athenian expedition.....	173

SECTION V.

The surrender of the Athenian army.....	178
---	-----

SECTION VI.

The second Peloponnesian war continued—The tyranny of the four hundred—The return of Alcibiades to Athens.....	180
--	-----

SECTION VII.

The victories of Lysander—The battle of Arginusæ—The judicial murder of the Athenian admirals.....	188
--	-----

SECTION VIII.

The battle of Ægos-Potamos—Athens taken by Lysander, and the Peloponnesian war concluded.....	193
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

From the demolition of the Athenian power to the peace of Antalcidas.	
---	--

SECTION I.

The reign of the thirty tyrants at Athens—The restoration of liberty by Thrasibulus.....	198
--	-----

SECTION II.

The death of Socrates—The retreat of the ten thousand.....	203
--	-----

SECTION III.

The victories of Agesilaus—The peace of Antalcidas.....	208
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

The third Peloponnesian war.

SECTION I.

Rise of the Theban power under Pelopidas and Epaminondas.....	213
---	-----

SECTION II.

The battle of Leuctra—The death of Jason.....	219
---	-----

CONTENTS.

9

SECTION III.

	Page
The invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Thebans.....	225

SECTION IV.

The battle of Mantinea—The death of Epaminondas, and conclusion of the third Peloponnesian war.....	230
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

The life of Philip king of Macedon.

SECTION I.

The early history of Macedon; the circumstances under which Philip obtained the crown—Greece distracted by the Phocian or second sacred war.....	235
--	-----

SECTION II.

The Athenians become jealous of Philip—The character of Demosthenes—The termination of the second sacred war.....	241
---	-----

SECTION III.

The successful career of Philip—The capture of Elateia.....	248
---	-----

SECTION IV.

The battle of Chæroneia—The death of Philip.....	253
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

From the birth of Alexander to his departure for Asia.....	261
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

From Alexander's invasion of Asia to his death.

SECTION I.

Conquest of Western Asia.....	267
-------------------------------	-----

SECTION II.

Conquest of Tyre, Egypt, and Central Asia.....	274
--	-----

SECTION III.

Death of Darius—Overthrow of the Persian empire.....	Page 280
--	-------------

SECTION IV.

Invasion of India.....	284
------------------------	-----

SECTION V.

Return from India—Death of Alexander.....	291
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

The successors of Alexander.....	296
----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

The Achæan league—The first interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece.....	303
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

The wars between the Romans and Macedonians.....	309
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Subjugation of Greece by the Romans.....	317
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

The modern history of Greece.....	322
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX.

On the literature of the Greeks.

SECTION I.

The epic and lyric poets.....	332
-------------------------------	-----

SECTION II.

The dramatic poets.....	337
-------------------------	-----

SECTION III.

The Greek historians and orators.....	341
---------------------------------------	-----

SECTION IV.

Science and the fine arts.....	348
--------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS.

11

SECTION V.

	Page
Grecian philosophy.....	347

APPENDIX.

SECTION I.

Historical notices of the Minor Grecian states.....	361
---	-----

SECTION II.

Historical notices of the Grecian Islands.....	365
--	-----

HISTORY OF GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

1. A GLANCE at the map of the world, as known to the ancients, will be sufficient to convince us, that no country derived more advantages from its natural position, than that which we, in imitation of the Romans, denominate Greece. It was in the centre of the most cultivated portions of the three continents; a short passage by sea divided it from Italy; and the voyage to Egypt, Asia Mi'nor, and Phœni'cia, though somewhat longer, seemed scarcely more dangerous. Its extensive coasts, indented with bays, landing-places, and natural harbours, compensated for the absence of large rivers, and pointed it out in the earliest ages as the country best situated for commerce; and though Phœni'cia was the parent of navigation, that art is indebted to Greece for its most material improvements. 2. The nature of the country afforded the inhabitants other advantages equally striking; watered in every direction by an infinite number of small streams, intersected by ranges of lofty hills alternating with fertile plains, and enjoying a warmer climate than any other part of Europe, the Greeks were enabled to pay equal attention to the different branches of cultivation, and to pursue a diversity of occupations. 3. Its extent from north to south, viz.: from the promontory of Tæ'narum to the Cambunian mountains,* is about two hundred and twenty-five miles; from its eastern extremity the promontory of Su'nium in

* Macedonia was not reckoned a part of Greece, until a very late period; it is therefore omitted here, but its geography and history will be found in the first section of the twelfth chapter.

Attica, to the Leucadian cape, its most western headland, the distance is about one hundred and sixty miles. Its superficial content was about 29,600 square miles, not quite two-thirds of the extent of the modern kingdom of Portugal.

4. Nature still further subdivided the country into three nearly equal portions, by separating the Peloponne'sus from the mainland, and intersecting the latter by the chain of Mount Œta, which runs nearly parallel to the northern boundary. The countries in northern Greece were Thessaly on the east, and Epi'rus on the west.

5. Thessaly was the portion of Greece most favoured by nature. It was on three sides surrounded by mountains; the continued chain of Œta, O'thrys, and Pin'dus bounded it on the south and west, the Cambu'nian mountains limited it on the north; and on the east, the peaks of Ossa and Olym'pus rose above them along the coast of the Æge'an sea. It was watered by the magnificent river Pe'neus, which, rising in mount Pindus, flowed through it from west to east; and by a number of tributary streams which joined this river from the north and south. 6. The traditions of the ancients related, that the Pe'neus had stagnated for several centuries, until* an earthquake divided Ossa from Olym'pus, and opened for it a passage to the Æge'an sea through the delicious vale of Tem'pe. Thus the soil of Thessaly had been long subjected to a fertilizing process, and rose from the floods ready to reward the cultivator by the most luxuriant harvests. 7. It was divided into five provinces; 1 Estiæ'otis, whose chief cities were Gom'phi and Aro'zus: 2 Pelasgio'tis, in which the most remarkable places were Laris'sa, Gon'ni, and the vale of Tempe: 3 Thessalia'tis, which contained the city of Phar'salus, and the memorable plains of Pharsa'lia: 4 Phthio'tis, the country of Achil'les, containing several towns, of which Phe'ræ was the most important: and 5 Magne'sia, a district on the sea-coast, with a capital of the same name. There were several smaller districts named from the tribes by which they were inhabited, such as Perrhæ'bia, &c. On the north side of the Pe'neus, the pure Hellenic race was not to be found; the tribes who resided there were of Il'lyrian descent, of whom some considered themselves as belonging to the Thessalian and others to the Macedonian nation.

* The poets say, that this was done by Hercules.

8. Thessaly presented many facilities for internal navigation, but none of them were improved by art; in the heroic ages it produced the best soldiers in Greece; but the fertility of the soil proved their ruin. They rioted in sensual enjoyments, and were proverbial for their intense selfishness. "Though Olympus, the habitation of the gods, stood on their land, nothing godlike was ever unfolded within its precincts."* Their cities, alternately the prey of anarchy and tyranny, never produced men conspicuous for their love of freedom; and though the country was populous and studded with excellent military positions, it submitted without a struggle, first to the yoke of Xerxes, and subsequently to that of Philip.

9. Epi'rus was next to Thessaly the largest, but it was the least cultivated division of Greece. Its inhabitants were of the Illyrian rather than Hellen'ic race, but the royal family claimed to be descended from Achil'es. Its principal divisions were, 1 Molos'sis, of which the chief city was Ambra'cio, on the gulf to which it gave name, and 2 Thespro'tia, whose capital was Buthro'tum. In the interior of Epi'rus, was Dodo'na, celebrated for the oracle of Jupiter, the common object of veneration to all the Hellenic tribes.

10. Central Greece, or Hel'las, had the chain of Mount Ceta on the north; the Mali'ac bay, and the Euri'pus on the east; the Saron'ic and Corinthian gulfs on the south; and the I'onian sea on the west. It contained nine districts.

11. "I. At'tica, a foreland extending towards the south-east and gradually diminishing. Its length was about sixty-three miles, and its greatest breadth in a north-westerly direction about twenty-five miles, but it tapers more and more to a point, till it ends in the rocky promontory of Su'nium.† The country is naturally barren, indeed it never produced corn sufficient for the support of its inhabitants; but the climate was salubrious; the Ilis'sus, Cephis'sus, and other small streams afforded a plentiful supply of the purest water; and the plains were particularly adapted to the culture of the olive. Its chief, indeed its only, city was Athens;‡ the other towns, such as Mar'athon, Eleu'sis, Dece'lia, &c. were little better than villages. The country was very

* Heeren.

† On the summit of this rock was a temple of Minerva. Some columns still remain, from which Sunium is now called Cape Colonna. It is the scene of Falconer's beautiful poem, the Shipwreck.

‡ See next chapter.

mountainous, but the mountains were not of excessive height; the most remarkable were, Hyme'ttus, Pentel'icus, and Lau'rium.*

12. II. Meg'aris, the smallest of the Grecian countries, lay between Attica, of which it once formed a part, and the Corinthian isthmus. It contained the city of Meg'ara and the celebrated sea-port Nisæ'a. Megaris was wrested from the Ionic inhabitants of Attica by a Doric† colony.

13. III. Bœo'tia lay to the northwest of Attica, and exhibited in almost every respect a different character. It may be generally described as a large plain shut in by the chain of Parnas'sus, Hel'icon, and Cithæ'ron on the west and south. Mount Cne'mis joined it on the north, and Pto'us lay between that and the sea. Numerous rivers, of which the Cephis'sus‡ was the chief, descended from these mountains, and stagnating in the plains, produced several marshes and lakes; among which, Copa'is, celebrated for its delicious eels, is the largest and most remarkable. The soil of Bœo'tia was among the most fruitful in Greece, and the country was the most thickly inhabited. Besides Thebes,§ the capital, it contained Plataæ, Tanag'ra, Thes'piæ, Chæronei'a, Lebadei'a, Leuc'tra, and Orchom'enus,—names which we shall frequently meet in the ensuing history; for the fate of Greece was often decided in Bœotia.

14. IV. Pho'cis, a district of moderate size and irregular shape, extending from mount Ceta to the bay of Corinth. It contained the mountain-passes that were considered the key both to Bœo'tia and At'tica. The most important was that near Elatei'a; and hence arose|| the terror of the Athenians when they learned that Philip had seized on that city. Besides Elatei'a, the capital, Phocis contained the town and celebrated oracle of Delphi,¶ and the city of Cris'sa with its excellent harbour, Cir'rha. The most remarkable mountain was Parnas'sus.

15. V. Lo'cris; this district was divided into two portions by Pho'cis and mount Parnas'sus; the eastern part was inhabited by two tribes, the Epicnemid'ii and Opunt'ii, deriving their names from mount Cne'mis and the city of O'pus. It lies along the Eurí'pus, or narrow strait that separates Eubæ'a from Bœo'tia, and contains but one place

* See next chapter.

† See History, chap. I.

‡ This must not be confounded with the Cephissus in Attica.

§ See the next chapter.

|| See History.

¶ See next chapter.

of importance—the memorable straits of Thermop'ylæ. 16. This pass was considered as the only road by which an army could march from 'Thessaly to Hellas; for nothing more than a footpath ran across the mountains: consequently, at the time of the Persian invasion, and indeed at a much later period, it was looked upon as the gate of Greece. The following description of the place, copied from Herod'otus, will enable the reader to conceive how it was, that with such an inferior force, Leon'idás was able to resist the countless myriads of Persia. “At Thermop'ylæ, a steep and inaccessible mountain rises on the west side, in the direction of Cēta; but on the east side are the sea and marshes. There are warm* fountains in the pass, and an altar to Hercules stands near them. On going from Trachest† to Hellas, the road is but half a *pleth'rum* (fifty feet) wide, yet the narrowest part is not there, but just in front and at the back of Thermop'ylæ, where there is but room for one carriage.”

17. VI. The western part of Lo'cris was inhabited by a tribe called Oz'olæ: it extended along the northern coasts of the Corinthian bay, and contained two considerable cities—Amphis'sa in the interior, and Naupac'tus, now called Lepanto.

18. VII. The small and mountainous district of Doris at the foot of mount Cēta. This country is only remarkable for having been the residence of the Heracli'dæ during their exile, and for having been the native country of those Doric tribes who produced such great revolutions in southern Greece.

19. VIII. and IX. Æto'lia and Acarna'nia; these two provinces, though of considerable size, and as much favoured by nature as any of those we have mentioned, took no prominent part in the affairs of Greece, until the time when the country was about to fall under the dominion of the Romans. The Æto'lians then made a fierce but unsuccessful struggle for independence, and were treated with barbarous cruelty by the conquerors. In the heroic ages, both these districts produced several heroes: both were peopled by Helle'nic tribes, and yet they remained sunk in barbarism after Athens had reached the summit of civilization. The river Achelo'us divided these districts. The principal town

* Hence the place received its name from *Thermai*, hot springs, and *Pylai*, gates.

† A town of Phthiotis in Thessaly.

of Æto'lia was Cal'ydon, on the Eve'nus; and of Acarna'nia, Stra'tus.

20. The peninsula which contains southern Greece was anciently called the A'pian Land;* but when Pe'lops had established his authority in that part of the country, in honour of him it was named the Peloponne'sus. In modern times it is called the Mo'rea, from its resemblance in shape to the leaf of a mulberry. In the centre of the peninsula is a lofty range of hills, branching out in several directions; between these are rich and fertile plains, watered by the mountain streams; but there is not any river of considerable magnitude. It contained eight countries.

21. I. Arca'dia, a mountainous inland district, nowhere bordering on the sea-coast. The general appearance of the country is very similar to that of Switzerland, and this resemblance extended to the character of the inhabitants; both were distinguished by the love of freedom and the love of money. The Arca'dian mercenaries were just as ready to fight for pay as the Swiss of the seventeenth century, and were equally indifferent to the justice of the cause for which they drew their swords. The inhabitants led a pastoral life, and the poets always described the Arca'dians as models of rural felicity. 22. The principal mountains in Arca'dia were Cylle'ne, Eryman'thus, Mœ'nalus, Lycæ'us, &c. From these descended the streams which watered the Peloponne'sus, two of which only merit the name of rivers, the Pe'neus and the Euro'tas. Stym'phalus, the only lake in southern Greece, was in Arca'dia: it was the scene of one of the labours of Her'cules. The principal cities of Arca'dia were Mantinei'a, Tegei'a, Orcho'menus, Pso'phis, and Megalo'polis, which in a later age became the capital of the country.

23. II. Laco'nia; this district, which may well be termed the land of heroes, extended to the south of Arca'dia, about sixty-six miles in length, by thirty-six in breadth. Though rugged and mountainous, it was very thickly inhabited, so that it is said to have contained nearly one hundred towns and villages. It was watered by the Euro'tas, a river celebrated throughout Greece for the clearness and purity of its streams. The chief towns were Sparta,† the capital, Amy'clæ, celebrated for the oracle of Apollo, and Gyth'ium, which was the harbour for the Spartan fleet, when the state, mis-

* See History, chap. I.

† See next chapter.

taking its true policy, endeavoured to become a naval power. Laco'nia terminated in two headlands, between which lay the Laconian bay, called now the Gulf of Colokythia; the cape at the eastern extremity was named Male'a, now St. Angelo, that on the west was called Tæna'rium, now Matapan.

24. III. Messe'nia; the chain of Mount Tayge'tus divides this fertile province from Laconia. The rich plains of Messe'nia early attracted the cupidity of the Spartans, who at length made themselves masters of the country, and by having thus doubled their territories, became the first of the Grecian states.* The chief towns were Messe'ne, Metho'ne, and Py'lus,† the modern Navarino. The other most remarkable places were the mountain fortresses of Ithomé and Eira.

25. IV. Ar'golis; this country, so celebrated in the heroic ages, consists of a neck of land stretching out into the sea about fifty-four miles, until it terminates in the promontory of Scyllæum; between it and Attica was the Saronic gulf, (now Gulf of Engia,) and on the other side lay the Argolic bay, (now Gulf of Napoli.) Its principal cities were Argos, once the chief in Greece, Mycæ'ne, the residence of Agamem'non, Epidau'rus, and Trœze'ne. The other remarkable places were Ti'ryns, Neme'a, and Cynu'ria, the scene of several exploits of Her'cules. The Argives, though possessed of an extensive and well-situated country, lost their pre-eminence after the Trojan war, and did not again take a lead in the affairs of Greece.

26. V. E'lis, on the western side of the Peloponnesus. This district may be called the holy land of Greece, since it was the spot where the different branches of the Hellenic race met together as one people, and forgot petty animosities in their common worship of the Olympic Jupiter. No wars were allowed to violate this sacred soil: armies indeed were permitted to pass through, but they were first deprived of their weapons, which were not restored until they had again crossed the boundaries. It was subdivided into three districts, Elis, deriving its name from the capital city which stood on the banks of the Pe'neus; Pisa'tis,

* See History, chap. II.

† This harbour and the neighbouring island of Sphacteria have been the scene of great exploits, both in the ancient and modern wars of Greece.

called after the ancient city of Pisa; and Tri'phylia, a woody country extending to Messe'nia.

27. Of these the most remarkable was Pisa'tis, as it contained Olym'pia, a district round the city of Pi'sa, where every five years the Olym'pic games were celebrated. The Ele'ans, after having vanquished the Pi'sans, presided at these games; and thus acquired a considerable influence in Greece. On the banks of the Al'phis stood the sacred grove called Al'tis, a sanctuary of the arts, such as the world has never since beheld. Its centre was occupied by the temple of Olympian Jove, and was in fact the national temple of Greece; in it was the celebrated colossal statue of Jupiter, probably the most splendid piece of sculpture that ever existed. Besides this temple there was within the enclosure two chapels sacred to Ju'no and Luci'na, the theatre, the sta'dium, where feats of strength were exhibited, and the race-ground. The entire grove was filled with statues, the works of the most eminent artists, and the different Greek states vied with each other in sending rich presents to adorn this spot, which they looked on as the common pride and property of their nation.

28. VI. Achai'a, on the southern shores of the Corinthian bay, in the north-west of the Peloponnesus.* The inhabitants of this district had been expelled by the Do'rians from their original settlements in the south of the Peloponnesus, and had in their turn driven out the Io'nians from this province, to which they gave their own name. They did not take a prominent part in the affairs of Greece until after the death of Alexander; but then the Achæ'an league, as the alliance by which their twelve cities were united was called, became for a time the sole defence of Grecian liberty. But though Achai'a did not become illustrious by giving birth to great generals, statesmen, or poets, it always possessed good laws, which might well compensate for the deficiency. For a long time they continued to enjoy a happy tranquillity, undisturbed by the wars of their neighbours. Their country was in nobody's way, and excited no person's cupidity. Even during the three Peloponnesian wars, when the rest of Greece was suffering from all the horrors of internal discord; the Achæ'ans remained neutral.

29. VII. Sicyo'nia, this was a narrow slip of territory

* See History, chap. I.

between Achaia and the isthmus. Its principal town was Sic'yon, said to have been the most ancient in all Greece.

30. VIII. The isthmus of Cor'inth, between the Co'rinthian and Saron'ic gulfs. In point of extent this was one of the smallest states in Greece, but the commercial advantages of its situation were more than an equivalent for the deficiency of its territorial possession. Like Venice in a subsequent age, the city of Cor'inth* flourished most when its dominions were limited to the immediate precincts of the city.

31. The islands of Greece may be conveniently classified in three divisions; those which lie immediately off the coast, those which are collected in groups, and those which lie separate in the open sea. On the west coast in the Io'nian sea, was a chain of islands, of which the chief were Corcy'ra,† Leuca'dia, Itha'ca, Cephalo'nia, and Zacyn'thus. On the south, off the coast of Laco'nia, lay Cythe'ra. In the Saron'ic gulf were Sal'amis and Ægi'na; ascending further on the eastern side, we meet Eubœ'a off the Bœotian coast, from which it is separated by the Euri'pus; Halonne'sus bordering on Thessaly, and still farther north Tha'sus, Im'brus, Samo'thrace, and Lem'nos.

32. The principal clusters of islands were the Cyc'lades and Spor'ades in the Ægean sea.

The most remarkable separate islands were Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes, in the Mediterranean sea.

33. This survey of Greece, considered merely in its geographical character, enables us to deduce certain inferences which may throw light on the history of the nation. And first, it appears that Greece was naturally cut up into certain divisions, of which one could not easily control the other. Thessaly could not without difficulty retain dominion over the nations south of Mount Æta; still less could Hellas exercise supremacy over the Peloponnesus, or the Peloponnesus over Hellas. There were limits provided by nature for those who desired and could enjoy freedom, within which liberty was secured against all attacks of neighbouring states. It was easy to defend Thermopylæ and the Corinthian isthmus. Even a foreign conqueror could effect little, so long as the nation refused to forge its own chains.

34. Secondly, there never was a country of the same extent as Greece, in which nature had done so much for

* See next chapter.

† See Classical Geography.

the different branches of industry. It was not merely an agricultural, pastoral, or commercial country, but it was all three in conjunction. This variety of pursuits in active life, led to the acquisition of various kinds of knowledge, and prevented that narrowness of thought which arises from attention to a single object.

35. Finally, as we have already stated, no country afforded such facilities to navigation, while the art was as yet imperfect. On the way to Asia Minor and Phœ'nicia, one island almost touched another; it was not difficult to reach Italy; and the coasts of Egypt were not far distant from Crete. Thus does Greece appear, in the dispensation of Providence, to have been marked out as the country by which the blessings of civilization should be brought from the eastern into the western world.

Questions for Examination

1. What advantages resulted from the geographical position of Greece?
2. Were any benefits derived from the nature of the country?
3. What was the extent of ancient Greece?
4. How was the country naturally subdivided?
5. How was Thessaly bounded?
6. Has any tradition been preserved which accounts for its early fertility?
7. What were the divisions of Thessaly?
8. Did the Thessalians maintain a high national character?
9. How was Epirus divided?
10. What were the boundaries of Hellas?
11. Did Attica contain any remarkable places besides Athens?
12. What was the situation of Megaris?
13. What were the most remarkable places in Bœotia?
14. Did Phocis contain any places of note?
15. How was Locris divided?
16. In what manner has Thermopylæ been described?
17. What was the chief city of the Locri Ozolæ?
18. Where was Doris situated?
19. Is there any thing remarkable in the history of the Ætolians?
20. What names have been given to the southern peninsula of Greece?
21. To what modern nation were the Arcadians similar?
22. What were the most remarkable places in Arcadia?
23. Did Laconia contain many places of note?
24. By whom were the Messenians subdued?
25. What were the most remarkable places in Argolis?
26. Why was the soil of Elis deemed sacred?
27. How is Olympia described?
28. For what was Achaia remarkable?
29. Which was the most ancient state of Greece?

30. What state was situated on the isthmus ?
31. Did any remarkable islands lie immediately off the Grecian coast ?
32. What were the other islands ?
33. How does Greece appear to have been naturally fitted for the establishment of independent states.
34. Did any advantages result from the variety of soil and climate ?
35. Why was Greece the source of civilization to the western world ?

CHAPTER II.

PRINCIPAL GRECIAN CITIES.—ATHENS, THEBES, DELPHI, SPARTA, CORINTH.

1. ATH'ENS lay in a plain, extending about four miles towards the south-west in the direction of the sea and the harbours, on the other side it was enclosed by mountains. The plain itself was interrupted by several rocky hills, of which, that named the Acrop'olis was the most remarkable.

2. Ath'ens was founded by Ce'rops, a native of Sa'is, in Egypt, about 1556 years before the Christian era, and was named after the Egyptian goddess Neith, whom the Greeks called Athene', and the Romans Minerva. The first buildings were erected on the hill of the Acrop'olis, which probably had been occupied by some of the Pelas'gic* tribes before the arrival of Ce'rops; thence the city gradually extended on every side, especially towards the sea; until the long walls built by Themistocles united the city to the Pei'ræus, completed the enclosure of Athens in its greatest extent.

3. The summit of the Acrop'olis was a level plain, eight hundred feet in length, and nearly four hundred in breadth; it was remarkable for the magnificent prospect which it afforded, for having been the ancient cradle of the nation, and above all, for those master-pieces of architecture which were erected by Pericles and other statesmen, to be the glory of their own age, and the admiration of posterity. The view to the north-west commanded the distant peaks of mount Cithœ'ron, famous for the orgies of the Bacchana'lians, rising majestically over the surrounding hills; to the north-east lay Pentel'icus, celebrated for its quarries of the finest

* See History, chap. I.

marble; the two summits of Hyme'ttus, celebrated for its abundant supply of the richest honey, lay to the east: as the spectator turned southwards, he beheld Lau'rium, valuable for its silver mines, appearing at the remote extremity of the Attic peninsula; but on the south and south-west was a prospect which awakened all the pride of an Athenian, and which even a modern traveller can scarcely view without emotion, since in that direction were seen the three harbours with their shipping and dock-yards; the Saron'ic gulf, the islands of Sal'amis and Ægi'na; the outline of the Argive shores; and in the remote distance, the pinnacle of the Corinthian citadel, the commercial rival of Athens.

4. To facilitate the student's conception of the following brief description of Athens, we shall suppose him to ascend the Acrop'olis,* and from thence survey the different parts of the city. A flight of marble steps led to the Propylæ'a or entrance to the Acrop'olis, erected by Pericles at an expense of nearly half a million sterling.† The wings of this splendid structure were two temples: in one Minerva was worshipped as the goddess of victory; the other was adorned with paintings executed by Polygno'tus.‡ 5. The citadel had nine gates: on the north it was fortified by the Pelasgic wall, said to have been erected by the ancient Pelasgi; on the south it was at first only defended by palings, which some of the Athenians mistook for the wooden walls declared by the oracle to be their best defence against the Persians: but after the victory at Myca'le, Ci'mon erected a wall called after his name, which completed the enclosure. 6. Within these bounds lay the principal public buildings of Athens—the Temples, the Treasury, and the Courts of Judicature. It would be impossible in our narrow limits to describe all the edifices collected on this favoured spot; we shall therefore only mention the principal. Far the most remarkable was the Parthen'ion,§ or temple of Minerva—the noblest piece of architecture that the world has ever seen—rebuilt by Per'icles, after its destruction by the Persians, of the purest Pentelic marble. It contained three statues of Minerva; one of olive wood, so ancient, that it was said to have fallen from heaven; one of marble, and one of gold and ivory, the work of Phid'ias, and deemed next to his

* It was also called *the upper city*.

† 2012 talents, equal to £452,700 of sterling money.

‡ See Classical Dictionary.

§ So named from a Greek word that signifies a virgin.



- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Acrop'olis. | 2. Propylæ'a. | 3. Thea'trum Bacchi. |
| 4. Odei'um. | 5. Prytanei'um. | 6. Areop'agus. |
| 7. Pnyx. | 8. Musæ'um. | 9. Fo'rum. |
| 10. Pœ'cile. | 11. Templum The'ser. | 12. Olympeci'um. |
| 13. Sta'dium. | | |

statue of the Olympic Jupiter—the greatest triumph of sculpture. The temple commemorating the contest of two deities for the patronage of the city,* was divided into two chapels, the one dedicated to Minerva Poli'as, or patroness of the city; the other to Neptune. In these were contained the salt spring Erech'theis, said to have been produced from the earth by a blow of Neptune's trident, and the sacred olive planted there by Minerva. Behind the Parthen'ion was the public treasury, called from its situation *episthod'omos*, or the house in the rear. In this a thousand talents were always kept to meet any sudden emergency.

7. At the foot of the Acropolis, on the north side, was the Prytanei'um, a common hall, where the magistrates and those who had deserved well of their country, were fed at the public expense. On the south were the Odeum, where musical contests were celebrated; and the theatre of Bacchus, where tragedies were acted in honour of that deity, and the merits of rival dramatists determined. 8. The

* Minerva and Neptune are said to have contended for this honour: Jupiter was chosen as umpire; Minerva produced an olive tree, and Neptune a spirited war-horse. Jupiter decided in favour of the former, declaring that the blessings of peace were superior to the glory of war.

northern quarter of Athens, named Melite', contained little of importance. Cerami'cus was the name given to the western part of the city, from the nature of its soil, which was potters' clay: this name was also extended to a portion of the country beyond the walls. The Cerami'cus contained the *ag'ora*,* or forum, which was the principal market-place of Athens, and sometimes the scene of the public assemblies. It was ornamented by several porticoes, of which the most remarkable was the Poecile' and the portico of the Her'mæ. The Poecile' derived its name from the paintings with which it was ornamented; in the middle was depicted the war between The'seus and the Am'azons; on one side was the burning of Troy, and on the other the battle of Marathon. It was under the shade of this portico that Zeno taught his disciples, whence his followers were called Stoics, from a Greek word (*stoa'*) signifying a porch. The portico and street of the Her'mæ were so named from several statues of Her'mes or Mer'cury, with which they were ornamented. Only the bust of the figure was formed; the lower part was a square pillar, on which moral sentences were written for the instruction of the people.

9. At the extremity of the Cerami'cus, near the Acrop'olis, stood the temple of The'seus, the most beautiful structure in the lower city. It had the privilege of being a sanctuary for slaves, and all men of the lower ranks, who dreaded the persecution of the powerful;—a noble compliment to the memory of The'seus, who had ever been the protector of the distressed.

10. A small valley, Cœ'le, lay between the Acropolis and the hills named the Pnyx and the Areop'agus. The latter, which derives its name from being consecrated to Mars, was principally remarkable for the celebrated court that met on its summit.† The Pnyx was the place in which the most important assemblies of the people were held: on the top was erected a *be'ma*, or pulpit, from which the orators spoke; and its position, strangely enough, varied with the political constitution of the state. While agriculture was the principal employment of the inhabitants of Attica, the government remained aristocratic; but when commerce had increased the wealth and intelligence of the people, the constitution was changed into an almost complete democracy.

* There were several smaller *agorai*, but this was the most important.

† See History, chap. III.

During this period, the *be'ma* was placed fronting the sea, intimating that its contemplation should stimulate the orator to protect commerce, as the source both of the wealth and political happiness of the state. But when Lysan'der had overthrown the Athenian power, and subverted the Athenian constitution,* the *be'ma* was made to face the country, under the pretence that agriculture was the object pointed out by Minerva as the proper object of the attention of the Athenians. A strange illustration of the early belief in an aphorism which has since been frequently exemplified, that a commercial country must always be more or less democratic.

11. South of the Pnyx was a hill named Musæ'um, where a fortress was erected by the Macedonians, when they occupied the city.

12. There were three harbours belonging to Athens—Munych'ia, Peiræ'us, and Phal'erum. The first of these was the most ancient, and was very soon deserted; the other two were celebrated for affording safe anchorage, and a shelter secure against every storm. The Peiræ'us was the most important haven; it in fact was a city by itself, with its own squares, temples, and *agorai*, frequented by a commercial crowd nearly as numerous and busy as that which was to be found in the market-places of Athens. The Peiræ'us could accommodate four hundred *triremes*, the other two not more than fifty each.

13. The road to the harbours was enclosed by a double wall, designed and executed by Themis'tocles. These walls were built entirely of free-stone, and were so wide that two wagons could drive on them abreast. The road was ornamented with the monuments of deceased poets, statesmen, and warriors, whom the Athenians frequently persecuted during their lives, and almost deified after their death.

14. The most remarkable places in the vicinity of Athens were the *gymna'sia*, or public schools; three of which deserve to be more particularly mentioned—the Acad'emy, the Lycæ'um, and the Cy'nosarges.

15. The Academy lay at the north-west side of Athens, at the extremity of the Cerami'cus, without the walls. It was originally the demesne of a rich Athenian, named Acade'mus, and was the place chosen by Pla'to for the instruction

* Lysander established an oligarchy in Athens, as the Spartans usually did in all the cities that they conquered. See History.

of his disciples. It is said to have been laid out with great taste and elegance; and its groves are described as among the finest specimens of ornamental planting.

16. On the eastern side was the Cy'nosarges, where the principles of the Cyn'ic philosophy were taught; and a little to the right of it, the Lycæ'um, where Aristotle lectured. As this philosopher delivered his instructions while walking about the pleasure-grounds, his followers were named Peripatet'ics.*

17. From the geographical position of Athens, we are led to deduce some inferences which may illustrate the history of the republic.

It was the centre of a small but compact territory. No inhabitant of Attica was more than a day's journey from the metropolis; and there was consequently no necessity for local jurisdiction in the villages. Athens was emphatically what it was called, *Astu*, THE CITY; and in it the pride and the affections of all the provincials were as much concentrated as if they had been actually citizens. It is therefore natural to suppose that all the thoughts of the Athenians would be directed to the beautifying of their city, as well as to the increase of its political influence.

Attica was not a fertile country, but it was admirably situated for extensive commerce; still there must have been always a powerful party favourable to agriculture—men possessed of hereditary claims to respect, rich in olive-grounds and fig-gardens, who looked with a jealous eye on the riches and influence which men of inferior rank acquired by trade. Hence we may expect to find in the history of the Athenian republic, traces of a struggle between the landed and mercantile interests; in which the former would aim at establishing an oligarchy, by limiting the possession of power to men of noble birth; or, what must in early times have been the same thing, persons inheriting large estates; while on the other hand the advocates of commerce would endeavour to establish a pure democracy.

Finally, Athens would naturally be at the head of the different commercial states that studded the coasts of the Æge'an; she would be almost compelled to send out colonies, and establish *depôts* on the Thracian coasts, in order to hold communication with the Eux'ine sea: she would be the mistress of the Æge'an islands, and in close contact with

* From *περιπατεω* *peripate'o*, I walk about.

the Persian provinces in Asia Minor. From these complicated relations, we may expect that various disputes and wars would arise; especially as the democratic nature of the Athe'nian government would prevent the adoption of a steady line of policy.

18. The notices of Thebes in ancient writers are not sufficiently explicit to furnish the materials of a long description. It was founded by Cadmus; but its walls were erected by Amphi'on and Ze'thus, about a century } B.C.
 later. It was more remarkable for its extent than for the beauty of its edifices; but its seven gates are spoken of as meriting admiration.

19. The Thebans looked on their city as the capital of Bœo'tia, and were therefore involved in constant disputes with the other cities in that province. We are therefore led to expect that in Grecian history we shall find the Thebans more anxious to extend their dominions over their neighbours, than to exert themselves for the general benefit of the Hellenic community.

20. Del'phi, whose celebrated oracle exercised so great an influence over the Grecian states, was romantically situated in a valley of mount Parnassus, and imbosomed in dark forests. The veneration in which the temple of Apol'lo and the Pythian responses were held, induced not only the Greek states but even foreign princes to send rich treasures to the shrine; and Delphi, even at an early age, became celebrated for the extent of its stores, and the beauty of its decorations.

21. In Grecian history we are not to expect that Delphi will appear prominent. Placed out of the way of the different states who contended for supremacy, it was the common object of veneration to all; and consequently all felt interested in maintaining its integrity. But when the treasures collected during ages in the shrine had stimulated the cupidity of some neighbouring community, we should naturally be inclined to conjecture that the most cruel of all wars, a religious war, should be the consequence.

22. Sparta, or Lacedæ'mon, is supposed to have been founded by Le'lex, a leader of the Pelasgi; but at what time it is impossible to determine. It became a city of considerable importance before the time of the Trojan war, and soon after the Doric invasion,* was considered the principal

* See History, chap. I.

city of the Peloponnesus. The name Sparta was strictly applicable only to the citadel erected on a hill in the centre of the city: Lacedæ'mon was a common name for the residences of the five Laconian tribes which were erected round the citadel. It was one of the largest cities in Greece; but being built in a straggling manner, was not so populous as several others. As the Spar'tans professed to despise the fine arts, their city did not contain any public edifice of importance. There is nothing in the situation of Lacedæ'mon which would lead us to anticipate the eminence at which it arrived. The river Euro'tas, on whose banks it stood, was celebrated for the clearness and salubrity of its waters, but it was not a navigable stream, and afforded no facilities for commerce. The fame of Sparta was owing to its political institutions,* and not to its geographical position.

23. At the southern extremity of the isthmus that united the Peloponnesus to Hellas stood Co'rinth, a city enjoying the best situation for extensive commerce, in ancient or
 B. C. } perhaps in modern times. It was founded by
 2616. } Sis'yphus, the son of Æ'olus, and was originally named Ephyré, but when the family of Pe'lopest became masters of the Peninsula, it received its present name from Corin'thus, a son of the Phrygian hero. 24. The city was situated at the foot of a lofty mountain, Acro'-corinthus, and was about four miles in extent. It was richly adorned with temples and statues, and the supply of water was better than in any other Grecian city, for its aqueducts were numerous and abundant.

25. Acro'-corinthus was the strongest fortress in Greece, and rivalled the Acropolis of Athens in the magnificence of its prospects; beneath it stood the city with its numerous edifices and busy crowd, beyond lay the narrow isthmus and the two ports of the city Cenchre'æ on the Saron'ic and Lechæ'um on the Cressæ'an bay; these harbours were usually crowded with ships, for the isthmus furnished a convenient market, where the merchants of western Europe might meet and trade with the Asiatics. Farther to the north might be seen the summits of Hel'icon and Parnas'sus; and on the eastern side a strong eye might discern the Athenian Acrop'olis.

26. From this sketch of the position of Corinth, we are led to anticipate the great commerce which it enjoyed,

* See History, chap. II.

† Ibid. chap. I.

especially with western Europe, as there was no great city on the Io'nian sea. It is also natural to suppose that the population would soon become too numerous for its limited extent, and that the Corinthian colonies would be more numerous than those of any other city. As it was the very key of the Peloponnesus, we might have expected that Corinth would have held the balance of power between northern and southern Greece; but its inhabitants were more mercantile than warlike, and neglected to avail themselves of the military advantages of their situation. Commercial jealousy made them in general hostile to the Athenians, and consequently allies of the Spartans, but their hostility to their rival was on some occasions tempered with a generosity* not very usual among competitors in trade.

27. In case of foreign invasion, Corinth became the citadel of Greece. The successive bands of spoilers who devastated that unhappy country, found this city garrisoned by men eager to defend the last hope of their country. Hence, after the decline of Grecian liberty, we meet with several instances of Co'rinth being fiercely besieged and heroically defended; and suffering fearfully from the vengeance of its barbarous conquerors. In allusion to these circumstances, Lord Byron opens his poem of the Siege of Corinth with the following lines, whose spirit and beauty will serve as a relief to the dryness of our geographical details :

Many a vanish'd year and age,
And tempest's breath and battle's rage,
Have swept o'er Corinth; yet she stands,
A fortress form'd to freedom's hands.
The whirlwind's wrath, the earthquake's shock
Have left untouch'd her hoary rock,
The key-stone of a land which still
Though fall'n looks proudly on that hill,
The land-mark to the double tide,
That purpling rolls on either side,
As if their waters chafed to meet,
Yet pause and crouch beneath her feet.
But could the blood before her shed
Since first Timoleon's brother bled,
Or baffled Persia's despot fled,
Arise from out the earth which drank
The stream of slaughter as it sank,

* See History, chap. III.

That sanguine ocean would o'erflow
Her isthmus idly spread below ;
Or could the bones of all the slain,
Who perish'd there be piled again,
That rival pyramid would rise
More mountain-like through those clear skies,
Than yon tower-capt Acrop'olis,
Which seems the very clouds to kiss.

Questions for Examination.

1. How was Athens situated ?
2. By whom was the city built ?
3. For what was the Acropolis remarkable ?
4. How was the Propylæa ornamented ?
5. By what fortifications was the citadel defended ?
6. What public buildings did the Acropolis contain ?
7. Were there any remarkable edifices at the foot of the hill on which the Acropolis was built ?
8. What remarkable places were in the quarter Ceramicus ?
9. Was any privilege given to the temple of Theseus ?
10. What assemblies were held on the Areopagus and Pnyx ?
11. Was there any other remarkable hill in Athens ?
12. What were the three Athenian harbours ?
13. How was the intercourse between the city and the havens protected ?
14. What were the Gymnasia ?
15. Who taught in the Academy ?
16. To what sects of philosophers did Cynosarges and the Lycæum belong ?
17. What inferences are deduced from the geographical position of Athens ?
18. By whom was Thebes built ?
19. Why were the citizens of Thebes at war with the other Bœotians ?
20. Where was Delphi situated ?
21. What effect had this city on Grecian affairs ?
22. How was Sparta situated ?
23. What was the ancient name of Corinth ?
24. Where was it situated ?
25. Was there any remarkable prospect from the Acro-corinthus ?
26. What was the character of the Corinthian people ?
27. What was the consequence of the position of Corinth ?

CHAPTER III.

GRECIAN IDOLATRY.

1. THE origin of the Grecian religion has been differently narrated by historians, some asserting that it was originally derived from Egypt, others declaring that Phœni'cia was its parent, while not a few contend, that in the ancient history of Crete or Sam'othrace we must look for those personages whom the Greeks looked on as the rulers of Olym'pus.* Much may be said in support of each of these several suppositions, for it is probable that the colonies which successively settled in the country, brought with them the worship practised in their native land; but none of them would, if taken separately, explain the reason of the great difference between the Grecian system of idolatry and all those which from time immemorial have prevailed in the east. The account given by the ancient Greeks themselves appears to be founded in truth: they tell us, that the poets collected the various traditions which were spread through the country, and arranged them into one uniform system, which the beauty of their verses soon caused to be universally adopted.

2. Instead of enumerating the names and attributes of the deities, which may be found in any pantheon, we shall endeavour rather to discover what was the nature of the Grecian religion, in its effect on the character of the people, and contrast it with the superstitions of Asia. The great struggle between the eastern and western world is the most prominent feature in the ensuing history; any light that can be thrown on the character of the combatants will not only make us more interested in their fortunes, but also greatly assist us in understanding the nature of the contest.

3. Every inquiry that has been made into the superstitions that prevailed in Asia has contributed to prove, that the divinities of the East were purely elementary, or in other words, founded on some power or object of nature, and that the attribute which they principally contemplated

* A mountain in Thessaly (see Introduction, chapter I.), on whose summit the poets asserted that the gods had fixed their residence.

in the object of their worship, was resistless power. The sun, the moon, the starry host, the earth, the river that watered the country, the storms and whirlwinds that laid waste the fields, these and similar objects mingled with rude ideas of a creating, preserving, and destroying power, formed the ground-work of the different religious systems that prevailed in the East. They did, indeed, sometimes represent their deities in the human form, because men naturally associate ideas of excellence with their own shape ; but they did not from thence deduce that the deities were actuated by human feelings. The form was always a secondary consideration, and they did not hesitate to disfigure it by the most unnatural combinations, in order to convey more forcibly their ideas of divine power. The Hindoo represents his god with fifty arms, the Egyptians gave to their deities the heads and limbs of animals. In all these cases the statue was looked on as a symbol rather than a representation.* 4. Beings possessed of boundless power, whom men had no reason to hope would sympathize in their condition, naturally inspired terror ; hence the Asiatics adopted a religion of *fear*, and worshipped their gods rather to avert evil, than procure good. This naturally led to cruel sacrifices ; human beings were and still continue to be offered up in the East, for mercy and love form not part of the attributes with which their deities are invested. The influence of such a belief on the mind must have been injurious in the highest degree ; it predisposed men to slavery, because they were naturally ready to acknowledge in the government of their country, those principles by which they believed the whole world to be directed. Despotism in its worst form they looked upon as the great principle that ruled the natural world, their gods were to be conciliated, not by rectitude and piety, but by cruel sufferings, severe austerities, and inhuman sacrifices. We find that these same principles pervaded all the Asiatic forms of government ; let us now see what practical effect they were likely to produce.

5. The Asiatics could have no idea of political rights or justice ; their patriotism must have consisted in simple attachment to the soil, their only connexion with the govern-

* The student will easily understand the distinction by a reference to the signs of the zodiac, ♈ is the symbol of the constellation Aries, a picture of the stars which compose it would be a representation.

ment was blind submission to the ruler's will. Hence, when a war broke out, they might fight for pay or plunder, through love of their leader, or attachment to their sovereign, but never from a desire to serve their country, or secure its independence. This simplified the business of conquest in the East; when an army was beaten the country was subdued, the general body of the people no more dreamed of resisting a victor, than they would attempt to struggle against an earthquake, or a whirlwind. Sesos'tris, Cy'rus, Alexander, and many others, overran the East with forces scarcely sufficient to garrison one of its provinces.

6. From the same habit of looking on their individual leader as every thing and themselves as nothing, the success of an Asiatic army depended altogether on the character of its general. There was no emulation between the different bodies of the army, no soldier dared to think for himself, he fought indeed where he was commanded, but if his leader fell, or was made prisoner, he fought no longer; when the general fled, his army ran away; the Asiatics were habituated to act as mere machines, and consequently became useless when the moving power was destroyed. This was the fatal secret on which the fortune of Persia depended, the celebrated expedition of the ten thousand* revealed it to the Greeks, and Alexander, by availing himself of the knowledge, decided the fate of the eastern world at Issus and Arbela.

7. The religion of the Greeks was one of the most extraordinary phenomena that the world ever witnessed; it was formed by the poets, and upheld by the fine arts. To use the expressive words of an old philosopher, its gods were immortal men, and its men were mortal gods. Instead of the single attribute of brute force, the divinities of Greece were supposed to possess all the passions and affections of human nature, joined indeed with the possession of supreme power, but power subjected to the control of wisdom and justice. Though many absurdities flowed from thus attributing human characters to the gods, it gave a warmth and affection to their worship, which produced salutary effects. The Greek honoured his deity as his friend,† he presented the same gifts at the altar as he would have offered to a fel-

* See History.

† Except the infernal deities.

low-mortal whose favour he wished to conciliate, he celebrated the sacred festivals with songs and dances, because such things delighted himself, and gratified all his acquaintance. 8. By a natural transition this attachment was extended to the place where the deity was worshipped, and became an additional cause of that ardent love with which the Greeks regarded their native land. To defend their temples was with them a more powerful motive than to protect their firesides; and all through this history we shall see that piety was a principal part of Grecian patriotism. 9. On this account we must expect to meet with religious wars and persecutions, in the history of this people; it is enough to mention the Messe'nian and the two Phœcian wars as instances of the inveterate hostility with which they were punished who presumed to offend the gods, the friends of the nation.

10. Another peculiarity in the Grecian religion was, that the priesthood was not limited to a particular family* or class; it appears to have been like the magistracy in the republics, elective and temporary; and many important services of religion were performed by the generals and magistrates themselves. This prevented the establishment of a privileged class who might monopolize knowledge, as happened in Egypt and other countries, while at the same time it gave a character of freedom to religion, which must naturally have been imitated in politics. 11. The persecutions raised against those who insulted, or were supposed to have insulted the religion of the state, do not appear in any instance to have been caused by the priesthood; the Amphictyonic council was composed of laymen when it commenced the sacred wars; Alcibi'ades and Soc'rates were accused of impiety, not by priests, but by the factious demagogues; they were condemned by the national tribunal, and not by an ecclesiastical inquisition. In short, the Grecian was a state religion only, because every individual in the state felt interested in its preservation.†

12. The most striking consequence of their religion was, the ardour with which the Greeks cultivated the fine arts. The gods were supposed to possess a human form, but the beauty and sublimity of their appearance was far superior

* There were some exceptions to this rule, as in the instance of the Euniolpidæ at Athens.

† See History, chap. III.

to that of ordinary mortals. The poets laboured to describe the majesty of the deities by the most lively images. The painter and statuary endeavoured to embody these conceptions on the canvas, and in the marble. This was the origin of ideal beauty, or the discovery of the highest degree of perfection which the human form can be conceived to attain. Thus with its religion was associated all that makes the name of Greece honoured by posterity; epic poetry celebrated the wars of gods, and heroes descended from them; the lyric writers composed hymns in their praise, and the dramatic writers laboured strenuously to produce pieces worthy of being represented at their festivals; poetry, painting, sculpture, music, were cultivated, not so much for their own excellence, as for their connexion with the service of deities, who were loved as friends, while they were worshipped as rulers.

13. All these circumstances combined to accelerate the progress of civilization in Greece. Athens had arrived at a pitch of refinement higher than Rome ever attained, when the entire west of Europe remained sunk in barbarism. But perhaps this very refinement may have been the chief cause of its ruin, by introducing a lavish expenditure in matters merely ornamental, and exhausting those treasures on which the nation relied for its defence, in splendid buildings, and pompous processions.

Questions for Examination.

1. What is the probable origin of the Grecian idolatry?
2. Why are we interested in examining its effects?
3. What was the nature of the deities of the Asiatic nations?
4. Did any evil consequences result from the peculiar nature of the religion of the East?
5. What influence had the Asiatic religion on the political character of the Eastern nations?
6. Did it influence military affairs?
7. What character did the Greeks attribute to their deities?
8. How did their religion increase the patriotism of the Greeks?
9. Why may we expect to read of religious wars in Grecian history?
10. What is remarkable in the Grecian priesthood?
11. Were the priests the authors of any persecutions?
12. Did the religion of Greece produce any effect on the fine arts?
13. Were these blessings unmingled with evil?

CHAPTER IV.

THE MYSTERIES AND ORACLES.

1. BESIDES the popular religion, in which all the Greeks participated, there were in every Grecian state certain mysteries, ceremonies of a secret religion, in which none but the initiated could participate. The nature of the doctrines taught in these solemnities, and the meaning of their rites, were covered with an impenetrable veil of secrecy ; to divulge the hidden nature of these mysteries was deemed a crime of the greatest magnitude, and we shall see, in the course of the following history, that the bare suspicion of having betrayed some of the mysteries to the uninitiated, produced the banishment of Alcibi'ades, at the moment when his services were most wanted by the Athenians. It is easier to discover the origin and tendency, than the nature and meaning of these mysterious doctrines and observances ; the notices scattered through ancient writers are brief and unsatisfactory, modern disquisitions are too frequently founded on mere conjecture, and generally exhibit more power of imagination than depth of knowledge. As these mysteries, however, had a powerful effect on the national character, it is necessary to take some notice of them before we enter on the history of the people.

2. All the historians concur in representing the mysteries as derived from some foreign source ; the mysteries of Ceres, the first in interest and importance, were brought from Egypt by Dan'aus ; the secret rites of Bac'chus were derived from Thrace, and Crete supplied those of the Cure'tes and Dac'tyli. 3. Indeed, from the earliest ages we find traces in all the eastern countries of a religion entirely differing from the vulgar, confined to a particular caste, and guarded from the rest of mankind with the most sedulous care. We are told that " Moses was skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," by which undoubtedly is meant, that the secrets of the priesthood had been revealed to him as an adopted disciple of their order. The ceremonies in the temple of Sa'is in Egypt, are declared to have been precisely the same as those of the Eleusi'nian mysteries, celebrated in honour of Ceres at Eleu'sis a village of Attica,

and the inscription on the pedestal of Miner'va's statue in that temple, gives us a remote conception of the nature of the secret doctrines there taught. The inscription was : "I am all that is, was, and shall be : and no one has ever lifted my veil." From this it would seem probable that these institutions were designed to preserve the knowledge of the meaning attached to the symbolical representations of the divinities, together with the traditions of the origin of the world, and of the deities themselves.

4. After the epic poets had systematized the mythology of Greece, the knowledge of the religion originally introduced from Egypt and Asia would have totally perished but for the mysteries, and it is doubtful if even they were sufficient for its preservation. Homer does not mention them, because in his time the religion of the vulgar and that of the instructed was the same ; but when his fables and those of Hesiod became the source from whence the populace derived their religious knowledge, the mysteries suddenly rose into importance, and were deemed objects of the highest national concern. But in process of time these secret doctrines probably degenerated into empty forms, and unmeaning ritual ; they were more honoured for their antiquity than valued for their importance, after Athens had been subjugated by the Romans ; but like many secret societies in Europe, they continued to exist in name long after their power had been destroyed.

5. But the mysteries of ancient Greece inspired more reverential awe in the minds of the multitude, than any modern institutions of a similar nature ever produced. The doctrines and the nature of the ceremonies were revealed only to the initiated, but the ceremonies themselves were public ; no one but a member could take a part in the festivals and processions, no one was excluded from being a spectator. Whilst the multitude was permitted to gaze at these exhibitions, to increase the splendour of which all the resources of art were exhausted, they learned to believe that there was something more sublime revealed to the initiated, and their ignorance of its nature only served to increase their awe and admiration. Thus the public worship inspired love for the divinities, while the private religion filled the mind with reverence, and both combined to elevate the national character, by freeing it from the servile adoration of the Asiatic, and the stern political religion of the Romans.

ORACLES.

6. In all ages the eager desire of men to penetrate futurity has led to unnumbered superstitions, which the artful and the designing have perverted to their own purposes. Even in our own day, a belief in omens and dreams still continues to exist in the minds of the uneducated ; all the accidental coincidences are carefully treasured up as instances of the certainty of prognostic, while the far more numerous instances of failure are forgotten. When such absurdity continues to exist, even in this enlightened age, we can easily imagine that men in the commencement of society would be much more easily duped by pretensions to foreknowledge ; if fortune-tellers find dupes even amid all the light and knowledge of the nineteenth century, we may readily believe that a crafty priesthood could impose on the world, when they monopolized all the little learning that existed.

7. Of all the modes of divination practised in Græce, that of oracles was the most important, and produced the greatest effect on the nation. No enterprise of consequence was undertaken until the will of the gods had been inquired at the holy shrines ; expeditions were undertaken or laid aside according to the responses delivered by the priest or priestess, in the name of the deity. 8. The first, and in the earlier ages of Greece, the most important oracle was that of Ju'piter at Dodo'na. It is said by some to have existed in the time of Deuca'lion, but others, with more probability, assign its origin to a later period. Two Egyptian priestesses that were carried off by Phœnician merchants from Thebes in Egypt, were sold as slaves, the one in Lib'ya, and the other in Epi'rus ; their superior knowledge enabled them to impose on the credulity of the natives, and at length they were enabled to establish the oracle of Jupiter at Dodo'na, and that of Am'mon in Lib'ya. This simple account became by tradition a very wonderful story ; it was said that two black doves, sent by Jupiter, had flown into these countries, and addressing the inhabitants in human voice, foretold future events.

9. But the fame of the Dodo'nean oracle was eclipsed by that of Del'phi ; Jupiter continued to be considered as the great author of prophecy, but Apol'lo was looked upon as its most lucid interpreter. The discovery of the Delphic oracle is said to have originated in accident ; a shepherd on mount Parnassus observed, that when his goats approach-

ed a particular fissure in the mountains, they were seized with extraordinary convulsions, and agitated by a species of delirium. Anxious to examine the cause of this phenomenon, he approached the fissure, and scarcely had he breathed the exhalation which issued from it, when he was seized with frenzy, and uttered words of strange import. 10. The matter became noised abroad, a temple was built over the place, and a priestess named Pyth'ia appointed to deliver oracles from a tripod placed over the fissure. Her words were then put into hexameter verse by some poets kept in attendance for the purpose. The verses, however, were so bad that it was commonly said, "the god of poetry is the worst of poets."

11. The fame of the oracle of Delphi soon eclipsed all the others ; its celebrity spread, not merely through Greece, but extended to western Asia, and the northern shores of Africa and Italy. 12. Its responses, veiled in studied obscurity, could in general be interpreted so as to seem to have foretold the event whichever way it turned out, as in the celebrated answer to Pyrrhus :

"Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse."

Which may be translated, either that Pyrrhus would vanquish the Romans, or that they would conquer him. But obscurity was not the only means by which the credit of the oracle was maintained ; the very belief in its power had a tendency to perpetuate itself, for those in whose favour an oracle had been uttered deemed themselves invincible, as being under the special protection of heaven, while those against whom the Py'thia had decided were proportionally dispirited.

13. As the Greeks became more enlightened, the influence of the Delphic oracle decreased ; an insult offered to the shrine by the Pho'cians produced both the sacred wars ; but it is easy to see from the history, that in the interval between them, men's minds had undergone a great alteration : in the first, a desire to avenge the profaned temple was both the real and professed motive of the assailants ; in the second, religion was the ostensible pretext, but we can clearly see that it was nothing more than a pretext. Even amongst the Athenians, the most superstitious of all the Grecian tribes, Demosthenes did not hesitate to say, "the Pythia *philippizes*," boldly asserting that the oracles were not inspired by Apollo, but purchased by Philip.

After the extinction of Grecian liberty, the Delphic oracle still held on a lingering existence, and its decline was so gradual, that it is impossible to discover at what time it became totally silent.

14. The oracle of Apollo at De'los was as highly honoured, though not so celebrated, as that of Delphi. Thither the Athenians annually sent a sacred ship called Par'alus, and from the moment of her sailing until her return, it was unlawful to put any criminal to death. 15. The oracle of Tropho'nus in Lebadei'a was also celebrated, chiefly indeed from the jugglery of the priests, who introduced the visitants into a cave, and exhibited such terrifying sights as usually dispirited them for the rest of their lives : hence, "to have visited the cave of Trophonius," was a phrase proverbially applied to all persons of a dark and gloomy disposition.

16. The faith in oracles, though it in some degree tended to inspire a reverence for the deities, yet on the whole produced injurious effects. While they met with general credence, a belief in fatalism was naturally produced, which damped the energies of those to whom danger was threatened, and gave their adversaries spurious confidence, rather than true courage. 17. The deception, though admirably managed, could not be concealed for ever ; party-feeling, but more frequently avarice, induced the priests to pass judgments dictated by their prejudice or their interest ; and when these were falsified by events, the credit of the oracle was shaken to the foundation. After the conclusion of the first Peloponnesian war, we meet with several instances of generals who made it their boast that they disregarded omens, prodigies, and oracles ; Epaminondas was especially remarkable for his disregard of all such quackery, and answered his superstitious monitors with that well-known verse of Homer :

* * * * * His sword the brave man draws,
And asks no omen but his country's cause.

The Athenian philosophers contributed much to shake the credit previously given to these supposed declarations of the divine will ; and though oracles continued to be consulted, yet they appear to have lost all political influence before the age of Alexander.

18. Still the temples of Dodo'na and Delphi were not entirely useless : they kept up a spirit of nationality among

the different branches of the Hellenic race ; for these temples were not considered the property of the Thesprotians or Phocians, but of all those of Greek descent, in whatever part of the world they resided. Delphi especially was to the Greeks what Jerusalem was to the Jews, and Mecca is to the Mohammedans—a national temple, in whose preservation all are interested, because all have been accustomed to regard it with veneration. The guardianship of these sanctuaries being intrusted to the Amphyctionic council, a connecting link was formed between the government and the popular religion ; and at the same time the pilgrimages made from Greece and the most remote colonies, by bringing together representatives of all the remote branches of the Hellenic family, reminded them that they were one race and one people.

19. The right of consulting the oracles belonged almost exclusively to the Greeks ; though some foreign princes, especially the Lydian monarchs, were permitted to seek responses, and offer presents. But the meanest state of Grecian origin, and the humblest individual of Grecian descent, had the privilege of visiting the shrine and seeking the information which he was taught to believe a benignant deity had particularly provided for all the descendants of Hel'en.*

Questions for Examination.

1. Besides the public religion already mentioned, was there not another in Greece ?
2. Whence were the mysteries introduced ?
3. How does it appear that Egypt was the parent of the Eleusinian mysteries ?
4. What seems to have been their design ?
5. How did this secret religion affect the public ?
6. What appears to have been the origin of oracles ?
7. Did they at any time possess much influence in Greece ?
8. By whom was the oracle of Dodona established ?
9. How is the Delphic oracle said to have been discovered ?
10. How were the oracles delivered ?
11. Were they much celebrated ?
12. How was its fame preserved ?
13. When does the oracle of Delphi seem to have lost its influence ?
14. How was the temple of Apollo at Delos honoured by the Athenians ?

* See History, chap. I.

15. Was there not an oracle at Lebadeia ?
16. What injurious effects did the belief in oracles produce ?
17. How was the credit of oracles shaken ?
18. Did the worship at Delphi produce any good result ?
19. Why was the Delphic oracle a source of national pride ?

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC GAMES AND FESTIVALS.

1. NONE of the Grecian institutions tended more to unite the different branches of the Hellenic family into one nation, than the public games which were celebrated at stated intervals. Of these there were four—the Olym'pic, the Pyth'ian, the Neme'an, and the Isth'mian. The general design of all the games was the same ; it was to display bodily and mental excellence, to excite emulation by rewarding merit, and to afford opportunities for the exhibition of every thing that tended to exalt the national character. 2. They rose gradually into importance. In the time of Homer, they were neglected so much that the poet takes no notice of their existence ; but in the space of about two centuries they had arrived at such a height of fame that the victors were celebrated by Pindar ; and a crown obtained at the Olympic games was deemed the greatest of mortal honours. The painters and sculptors sent the best specimens of their art to Olympia ; poets, orators, and historians recited portions of their works in these national assemblies ; and all the vocal and instrumental performers who had any skill in music, were eager to have their fame sanctioned by the approbation of the Olympic judges.

3. The Idæ'i Dac'tyli are said to have instituted the Olym'pic games. They were revived by Hercules ; but having again fallen into neglect, they were re-established by B.C. } Iph'itus, who ordained that they should be regu-
884. } larly celebrated every fifth year. 4. The intervals between these festivals were called olympiads, and by them the Greeks computed time : they reckoned, however, not from their institution or re-establishment, but from the vic-
B.C. } tory of Coræbus, which, though always counted
776. } the first, was really the twenty-eighth olympiad.

This mode of ascertaining dates continued to be { A. D.
used until the 364th Olympiad, when the Christian { 440.
era was substituted in its stead.

5. The athletic exercises used in these games were five, viz.: leaping, running, throwing, which was performed with javelins, arrows, quoits, &c., and wrestling, which seems also to have included boxing. The other exercises were horse and chariot-races, of different kinds, but alike in deciding the victory more by the skill of the rider or charioteer than by the strength or swiftness of the horses.

6. The contests between musicians, artists, poets, &c. were secondary objects in the Olym'pic games, but formed the principal part of the Pyth'ian. The latter were celebrated every fifth year at Delphi, and are said to have been instituted by Apollo, in honour of his victory over the serpent Py'thon.

7. The Neme'an games were celebrated every third year at Neme'a, a village in Argolis. They are said by some to have been instituted in commemoration of the destruction of the Nemean lion by Hercules. But the more general account is, that they were funeral games, in memory of Archem'orus.*

8. The Isthmian games, so named from the place of their celebration, the Corinthian isthmus, were instituted in memory of the Melicertes, the son of Athamas and Ino. These games were considered so sacred, that they were not permitted to be laid aside, even in consequence of a public calamity.

9. The rewards at the public games were chiefly honorary; the Olympic victor was crowned with laurel, the Pythian received a chaplet, made of some fruit-tree; the Nemean and Isthmian conquerors received crowns made of parsley, that of the former being green, and that of the latter withered. But though no pecuniary reward was given at the games, almost every state in Greece settled pensions on any of their citizens who had been so fortunate as to obtain prizes.

10. The similarity between these games and the tournaments of the middle ages appears at first very striking, but little consideration will show that they were institutions of a totally different nature. The exercises of chivalry

* See Archemorus, Ino, Melicertes, and Athamas in Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

were confined to a particular class of society ; no person of obscure family was allowed to share in them, and they were entirely of a martial character. The meanest Greek might contend at the Olympic games, but the most powerful monarch who was not of Hellenic descent could not become a candidate. They were designed to display the glory of the Greek nation, and this they effected by exhibiting every thing which could excite admiration ; bodily strength and skill in manly excellence, the splendour of opulence, as displayed in the rich equipages that contended in the chariot race ; intellectual excellence of every description, poetry, oratory, painting, sculpture, and music.

11. The government of these games was confided to the people in whose vicinity they were celebrated ; but some control appears to have been exercised over them by the Amphictyon'ic council. There were several assemblies of this kind, which have all been forgotten in the superior celebrity of that which met at Delphi and Thermop'ylæ. In general, the characteristics of these assemblies were, first, that several states should form a federative union, and agree to send deputies to debate on matters of common interest ; secondly, that the meetings should be held in a temple or sanctuary ; and thirdly, that the time of their assembly should be celebrated as a festival, by games and processions.

12. They appear to have been instituted at a time when Greece was divided into tribes, and before the cities became of importance. Hence their weight in preventing civil war among the Greeks was lost, when individual states, such as Athens or Sparta, began to struggle for eminence. In fact, after the termination of the Persian war, the Amphictyon'ic council became to the Greeks what the Diet is to the Germans, a national council, that preserved a certain feeling of brotherhood, though it did not possess any real political influence. Athens and Sparta no more referred the decision of their disputes to the assembly at Delphi, than Austria and Prussia to the congress at Ratisbon ; still they entertained a certain respect for the great national council, and observed certain regulations, even in war, which had been instituted by the Amphictyons.

13. From these assemblies originated the rules observed in civilized warfare, which form so important a part of the law of nations. This will appear if we consider some of the clauses in the ancient Amphictyonic oath ; the deputies swore in the name of the states they represented " never to

destroy an Amphictyonic city ; not to deprive them of water, whether in war or peace ; to punish any city that violated these laws ; to protect the worship of the god, and the safety of his sanctuary, to the utmost of their power." In the course of the following history we shall find these principles regarded even in the fiercest domestic wars, and shall see that though the national festivals and national councils could not prevent disunion, they still hindered the Greeks from forgetting, in the midst of discord, that they were all brethren of the same race.

14. If we contrast the wars of the Romans in Italy with the Peloponnesian wars, we shall see more clearly the effect of these feelings. Rome increased not merely by the conquest, but by the destruction of the neighbouring cities ; cruelty to the vanquished was in Italy the rule, and in Greece the exception. "I cannot refuse quarter when I hear it asked in my native tongue," was the expression of a Swiss soldier in the thirty years' war. It was a natural feeling, but it was one that must have been peculiarly influential on a Greek, whom every public institution tended to inspire with national pride and national affection.

Questions for Examination.

1. Which were the principal public games ?
2. When did they rise into importance ?
3. By whom were the Olympic games instituted ?
4. How long was the computation by Olympiads used ?
5. What were the exercises practised at these games ?
6. How did the Pythian games differ from the Olympic ?
7. Why were the Nemean games instituted ?
8. What is said to have been the origin of the Isthmian games ?
9. Did the crowns given at these games differ ?
10. Is there any remarkable difference between the Grecian games and the tournaments of the middle ages ?
11. What was necessary to constitute an Amphictyonic council ?
12. Why had the Amphictyons but little political influence ?
13. What beneficial effects followed from the institution of such councils ?
14. How did they lessen the horrors of war ?

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL CONSTITUTION OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

1. **THOUGH** there was a great diversity in the forms of government that were established in the several Grecian states, yet there existed certain general principles, which prevailed in all, and which it is interesting to investigate, because political institutions produced more effect on the national character of the Greeks, than of any other people. The Grecian states were, with few exceptions, cities with their adjacent districts; hence their constitutions were those of cities, and had no resemblance to those of modern republics, such as Switzerland and America, but were like what Venice and the Hanse-towns were in the middle ages. Like them, the wealth and importance of the states did not depend on the extent of their territories; the dominions of Corinth, when at the summit of its glory, scarcely equalled in size the single county of Middlesex, in England.

2. They were all free constitutions, that is, the magistrates were responsible for their administration, either to the general body of the citizens, as at Athens, or to some particular class, as at Sparta. A ruler who attempted to acquire authority for whose exercise he should not be responsible, was named a tyrant; and this appellation was given to him, even though his government was mild and merciful. Self-government was the general principle of all their constitutions, and the labours of their lawgivers consisted principally in devising practical rules for its application.

3. Though it was settled that the government of the state belonged of right to its members, it was undetermined whether it rested with the citizens collectively, or with certain classes, or even certain families. Thus arose the division of constitutions into aristocracies and democracies. But these names were not used in the strict sense. By the ancient Greeks, a state was considered a democracy, even though the poorer classes were excluded from holding office; and in most of the aristocratic states the assent of the commonalty was necessary to the validity of a law. Aristocracy naturally prevailed in all the agricultural states, because

wealth there consisted in land, rather than in money, and being consequently a more certain inheritance the influence of birth and riches were united. The nobles did not attempt to exclude the people from all share in the legislation, but they endeavoured to secure for themselves the offices of state and the administration of justice. On the contrary, in the popular states there were no offices to which a citizen might not hope to arrive, and the judicial authority belonged to the great body of the people. But the forms and applications of these principles varied in the several states, and at different times in the same state, so that it is impossible to define accurately the numberless* varieties of the Grecian constitutions.

4. When the right of making laws was lodged in the hands of all the citizens, it is manifest that in the course of time the lower ranks would obtain all the real authority of the state; at the same time it was difficult to limit the exercise of the privilege without depriving this class of their right of citizenship. The establishment of a representative government would have effected the desired end at once, but in a city where every man could reach the place of assembly in a few minutes, no such idea as representation could enter the mind of the legislator. Various expedients of more or less efficacy were adopted in different states, but far the most useful was the creation of a senate who should consider every thing which was to be proposed in the general assembly, and withhold any matter which they deemed unfit to be laid before the people. In Athens the members of the senate, or council of five hundred, were elected annually; in other cities, such as Sparta and Corinth, the senators, or elders as they were named, were chosen for life.

5. The magistrates of the Grecian republics agreed only in being all responsible† for their administration; in every other respect the regulations were as varied and numerous as the states. The number of the magistrates, the duration and extent of their authority, the qualifications of the electors and elected, were subject to constant changes, and their determination gave rise to innumerable civil commotions.

6. From this rapid sketch, it is pretty evident that all the Greek constitutions must have failed in one great end of

* Aristotle enumerated no less than two hundred and fifty-five.

† The Greeks expressed this by the word *ὑποσυναι*, which signifies *subject to render an account*.

government—the providing for the security of person and property: the nobles oppressed the poor, and the poor plundered the nobles. Revolutions were of frequent occurrence; and there was no opportunity of enjoying that domestic tranquillity, which, after all, forms the true happiness of a nation. These very troubles, however, were favourable to the developement of mental energy, and stimulated into action powers that would have otherwise lain dormant. But it is very doubtful whether such advantages were not too dearly purchased. A cunning demagogue will sometimes triumph over the wisest statesman: the wretched Cle'on enjoyed as much authority at Athens as ever was possessed by the illustrious Per'icles.

7. It may not be amiss to take some notice of the state of the productive arts and the finances in ancient Greece—objects that form so important a part of modern politics, but which were comparatively neglected by ancient statesmen. From what has been said above, it appears that the private existence of the citizens was subordinate to that of the public; or in other words, that the Greeks paid more attention to affairs of state than to their domestic concerns. This, of course, acted as a check to national industry; it produced patriotism, or at least party-zeal, but it diverted men from the quiet pursuits of trade and commerce. 8. There was another and stronger cause why the Greeks contemned the mechanic arts in general, and stigmatized many of them as degrading. This was the institution of slavery which prevailed in all the states. All the more laborious parts of trade and manufacture were performed by the slaves; and many persons derived a considerable profit from hiring them out in gangs. In the agricultural states, where slaves are uniformly worse treated than in commercial communities, these unfortunate beings performed all the labours of cultivation. We even find that the overseers were in most instances selected from the same class; and that to attend to the affairs of the state was considered the only thing fit to engage the attention of freemen. 9. The unavoidable consequence was, that the mechanic arts were deemed mean and base; industry was in some degree proscribed, not merely by prevailing prejudices, but by the laws themselves; for, in some states, retail traders were by an express law declared ineligible to any public office. This, consequently, tended to prevent in Greece the formation of a middle class—the most valuable in civil society, not merely because it forms a

connecting link between the higher and lower classes, but because people in that condition are always the most interested in the preservation of public tranquillity, as they have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, by a change.

10. In the commercial states, such as Athens and Corinth, this evil was not felt so sensibly as in the agricultural communities. The landed proprietors everywhere looked on trade and commerce as degrading pursuits; and the landowner who sold in market the produce of his own lands, despised the merchant who sold in the same market the same commodities imported from another country. We shall see, in the course of this history, how frequently the commercial and agricultural interests came into collision.

11. By rather a strange coincidence, their jealousy was identified with the hostility that ever existed between those of Ionic and Doric descent; for the lovers of commerce were attached to democracy, of which Athens, the head of the Ionian states, was the patroness; while the landholders, who were naturally attached to an aristocratic form of government, favoured the Spartan form of government, and consequently the Spartan cause, as that state preserved the almost feudal system of their Doric ancestors.

12. It is not easy to form an accurate view of the Grecian system of finance, principally because that did not, until a late period, form an important part of their political management. While the magistrates and soldiers were unpaid, and the sacred lands and voluntary offerings sufficed to support the temples, there would have been no necessity for taxation. But when a lavish expenditure in splendid edifices and magnificent shows became frequent, when the state was compelled to pay her soldiers and sailors, a great change took place, and it became a matter of importance to discover means for defraying the public expenses. 13. This was a case for which the legislators had not provided, and it became a fruitful source of vexatious oppressions, frauds, and discontents. The want of a productive or manufacturing population prevented the taxes on articles of trade from becoming of any great value; the burdens of the state were consequently thrown directly on the rich; and so frequent were the calls made on them, that Isoc'rates declares, "it would be better to be poor than rich in Athens." 14. Two laws will be sufficient to show that the Athenian populace took good care of themselves, and were very unscrupulous in demanding the property of the higher ranks. The first

was the law about the public shows. The public fund destined to provide for the defence of Athens, was applied by a law of Eubu'lus to the exhibition of dramatic spectacles; and the punishment of death was denounced against any person who should propose to restore this fund to its original destination. The second was the law respecting *trierarchs*, or persons appointed to supply ships-of-war to the state; a certain number of the rich inhabitants of each ward were named *ministers of the public works*, and obliged to furnish the navy entirely at their own expense; but if any of them could point out a man richer than himself, he escaped the burden, and the more wealthy was appointed in his room. If any dispute arose respecting their relative wealth, the person first appointed had a right to propose an entire exchange of property, to which the other should either consent or take his place as a *trierarch*. It is easy to see that this law must have opened a way for numberless frauds and vexatious law-suits.

15. In the course of the ensuing history, we shall see how fatally the bad system of Grecian finance operated in overthrowing the liberties of the country. The money of the Persian monarch, bestowed with a liberal hand, made the Spartans victorious in the second Peloponnesian war, and procured the ruin of Athens. Bribes from the same quarter enabled the Thebans to overturn the supremacy of Sparta; and finally, it was by a judicious management of his resources, that Philip was enabled finally to triumph over the extravagant and impoverished Athenians.

Questions for Examination.

1. In what important particular did the Greek republics differ from those of America and Switzerland?
2. What was esteemed by the Greeks the characteristic of a free constitution?
3. Whence arose the numerous varieties in the Grecian constitutions?
4. How did they attempt to remedy the evils of an universal suffrage?
5. Were the magistrates of the several states alike in any respect?
6. In what end of government did all the Greek republics fail?
7. How did the constitutions of the Greek states check the progress of national industry?
8. What other cause prevented the cultivation of the productive arts?
9. How did the institution of slavery operate?
10. What brought the agricultural and commercial classes into collision?
11. By what circumstance did this dispute assume a national form?

12. Why is it difficult to determine the nature of the Grecian finances?
13. What evil resulted when taxation became necessary?
14. Are there any laws that prove the pressure of taxation to have been unequal at Athens?
15. Did the bad system of Grecian finance prove injurious to public liberty?

CHAPTER VI.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequency of wars in Greece, the military art does not appear to have made much progress. The weapons used in the age of Alexander seem to have been very little improved since the time of Homer, and the art of manœuvring an army appears to have been neglected until the war between the Thebans and Spartans.* The principal reason of this was, that the soldiers of the different Grecian states were chiefly a militia, called out on any sudden emergency, serving gratuitously during the campaign, and then returning to their ordinary occupations. 2. Every citizen was liable to be called on to serve in war, unless the state made some particular exceptions. The military age in Athens began at the eighteenth, and ended at the fifty-eighth year, and it seems probable that the same regulation existed in the other Grecian states. 3. From the nature of a militia, it is manifest that it would be impossible to assemble large armies; not more than ten thousand Athenians fought at Marathon;† and though the union of all the states enabled them to bring a larger army into the field at Plataeæ,‡ that was probably the first occasion, before the introduction of mercenary troops, on which an army of thirty thousand Greeks were assembled in one place.

4. After the battle of Plataeæ, the war with the Persians continued to be carried on principally by sea, and therefore no opportunity was afforded for the improvement of military science; the art of besieging was, however, cultivated by Ci'mon, though no important improvement appears to have been effected.

5. The two Peloponne'sian wars between Ath'ens and Sparta would seem at first to have afforded opportunities for

* See History, chap. XI. † Ibid. chap. IV. ‡ Ibid. chap. VI.

advancing the art of war; but on looking to the history, we shall find that sieges constituted the principal military operations, and that all the battles of importance were fought at sea. Besides, the two principal states engaged in the war were not likely to advance the military art; Sparta was fettered down by being compelled to adhere undeviatingly to ancient maxims: and Ath'ens, whose wealth depended on her commerce, and whose strength consisted in her naval auxiliaries, was naturally disinclined to attempt any military enterprise.

6. There were other obstacles, arising from the republican constitution of the Grecian states; the command was shared by several generals, and the unpaid citizens were so much on an equality with their leaders, that it was always difficult to enforce obedience. 7. To this must be added, the deficiency of cavalry; Attica and the Peloponnesus were unfavourable for pasture; Athens had only about a thousand horse, and Sparta before the age of Agesilaus scarcely any. Thessaly, indeed, was always celebrated for its horsemen, but that country soon ceased to possess any political importance.

8. A native militia, fighting for their hearths and altars, presents a formidable obstacle to an invader, but ceases to be of value beyond the limits of its own country. When the Persians were driven from Greece, no attempt was made to follow them into Asia and anticipate the exploits of Alexander.

9. In commercial countries, military service is most sensibly felt as a hardship: the rich merchant, unwilling to leave his gains, hires a substitute; his example is soon followed by others, and in a short time, the army of the state is entirely made up of the poorer order of citizens. It soon becomes necessary to grant them a small allowance for their support, and thus the militia is converted into a mercenary army. This change took place in Athens during the administration of Pericles, and in Corinth at a still earlier period. 10. Foreign troops were occasionally hired in the first Peloponnesian war, but their use became general in the second and third; hence arose a new and numerous class, whose profession was war, and who sold their services to the highest bidder.* The facility with which the younger Cyrus collected an army of ten thousand Greeks to aid him in his

* See chapter X.

iniquitous expedition against his brother, shows us how numerous these mercenary bands had become, and how little they regarded the justice of a cause, in comparison with the goodness of their pay.

11. We have already said, that little regard was paid to military evolutions, before the time of Epam'inondas. The Greeks drew out their armies in line, and fought man to man thus numbers, or personal courage decided the day, leaving little opportunity for the exercise of skill. Epam'inondas saw clearly that an adherence to these old customs would be his ruin; the Spartans were more numerous and better soldiers than the Thebans, and if they fought in line the fate of the day could not be doubtful. He therefore adopted a new plan; concentrating his forces, he suddenly pushed forward against one wing of the Spartan army, which was irretrievably ruined, before the other divisions could come to its assistance. 12. At Leuc'tra the Theban cavalry in a great measure decided the fate of the day, but Mantinei'a was won entirely by the generalship of Epaminondas. He pushed forward the best of his troops in a solid mass against the long files of the Spartans, broke their line at once, and overwhelmed them in detail. Philip of Macedon was the prisoner and pupil of the Theban general; he transmitted his lessons to Alexander, and by judiciously availing himself of these instructions, the Macedonian hero overthrew the ancient empire of Persia.

13. From a very early period, the navy was looked upon by the Greeks as of greater importance than the army; but there were many circumstances which prevented them from making any great improvement either in the arts of navigation, or naval warfare. Their expeditions were confined to the Æge'ian and Io'nian seas, where the numerous islands afforded so many ports and landing-places, that there was not much need of skill: the materials for ship-building did not abound in Greece, but were obliged to be brought at a great expense from abroad; finally, the manning of the fleet was a matter of very great difficulty.

14. Two descriptions of men, marines and sailors, were employed: the former were originally part of the unpaid militia, the latter were slaves or foreigners. The same causes that led to a change in the constitution of the army, produced the same effect in the navy, and the pay of the

fleet became soon one of the most difficult parts of Grecian finance. The Spartans were utterly unable to maintain a fleet until they were aided by subsidies from Persia.

16. The Greeks early made a distinction between merchant-vessels and ships of war. The former were built wide and deep, the latter usually called *long*, were sharp and narrow, with the rowers sitting in one line. The shape of the vessels and the number of rowers, which soon rose from twenty to fifty, made the ships of war very swift sailers. The invention of *tri'remes*, by the Corinthians, was the first great improvement made by the Greeks in the art of shipbuilding; these vessels having three tiers of oars, rising one above the other, required more strength in their construction than the *long* galleys; but the additional expense prevented them for a long time from coming into general use. In the Persian war, no states but the Syracu'sans and Corin'thians had entire fleets consisting of *tri'remes*.

In naval tactics, the Greeks seem to have improved very slowly.* The battles of Artemisi'um and Sal'amis were won more by the advantageous position of the Grecian fleet, than by any skilful evolutions; in the other sea-fights, the Persians were beaten so easily, that no opportunity was afforded for exhibiting the prudence or adroitness of the commanders. The victory obtained at Arginu'sæ † by the Athenians, in the second Peloponnesian war, was, however, entirely owing to the skill of the admirals; they had their vessels drawn up in double lines, and were thus enabled to break through the long single line of the Spartans. The bravery of Callicrat'idas for a time kept the fortune of the day in doubt, but skill eventually triumphed over valour.

17. It was not until the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, that the naval tactics of the ancients assumed a regular form; but in judging of them, we must bear in mind two important particulars, in which they differ from those of modern times. First, as the *triremes* and long vessels were principally impelled by oars, less depended on the wind than in recent sea-fights; and secondly, as the weapons of the combatants were only fit for close action, the vessels soon ran alongside each other without affording any opportunity for complicated manœuvres. But though the naval tactics of the moderns are more difficult and intricate, we must not suppose, that the ancient sea-

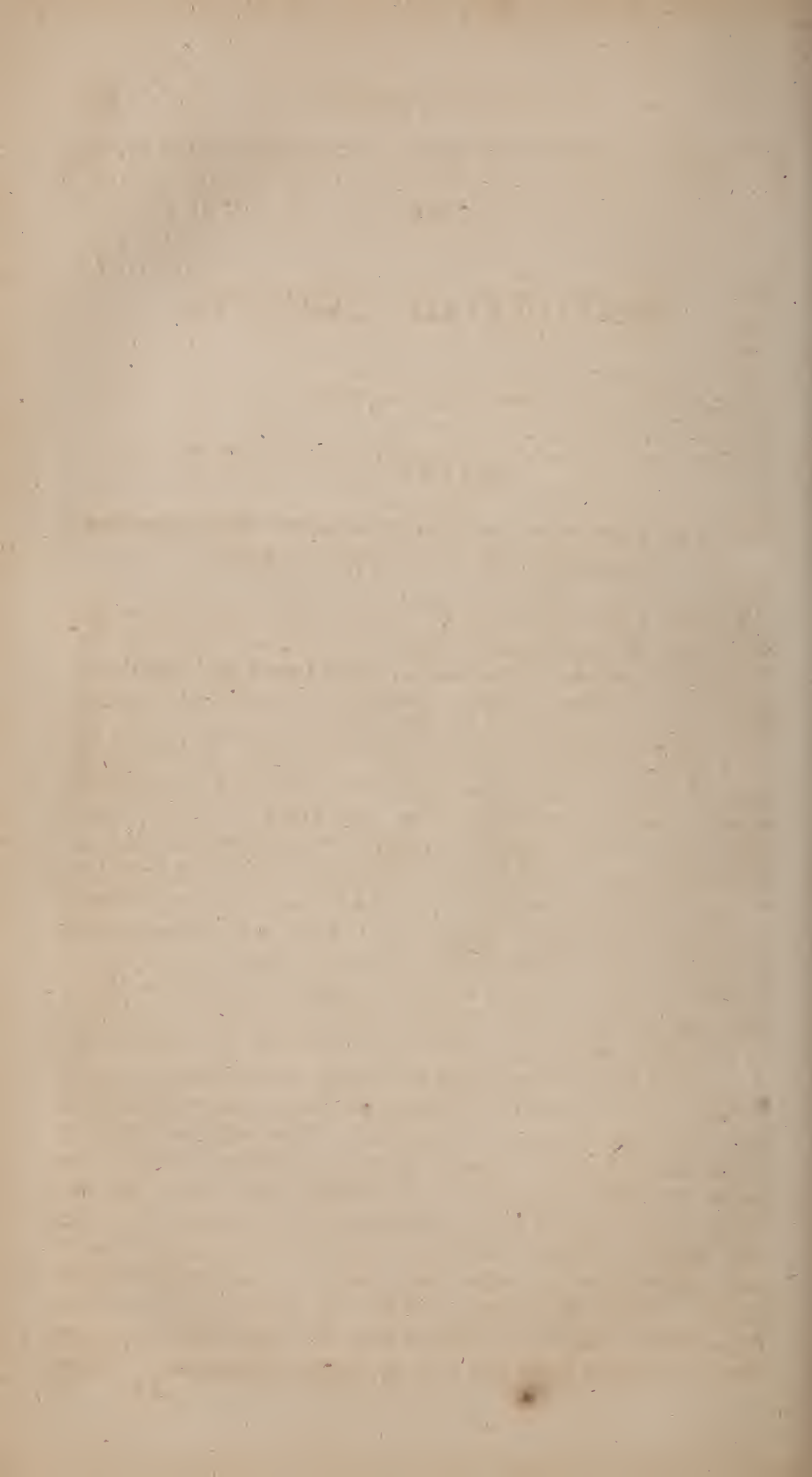
* See History, chap. V.

† Ibid. chap. X.

fightings were trivial or insignificant. They decided the event of a war frequently by one engagement, and if the loss of life be taken into account, we shall find that in ancient times, a battle by sea was three times more destructive than any that has taken place since the invention of gunpowder.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the usual composition of a Grecian army ?
2. How long did liability to military service continue ?
3. Why was the ancient form of armies a hinderance to the improvement of military science ?
4. Did the Persian war make any change ?
5. Why were no improvements introduced in the two Peloponnesian wars ?
6. Did the republic constitution offer any impediment ?
7. In what species of force were the Greeks deficient ?
8. When is a militia formidable ?
9. Where does a militia first disappear ?
10. What evil arose in Greece from the use of mercenary troops ?
11. Did Epaminondas introduce any improvement in tactics ?
12. Where was the efficacy of this change proved ?
13. Why did the Greeks make but little improvement in the art of navigation ?
14. How was the Grecian navy manned ?
15. What description of vessels did the Greeks use ?
16. Were any victories won by the superior tactics of the Greeks ?
17. How did ancient naval battles differ from those of modern times ?



THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

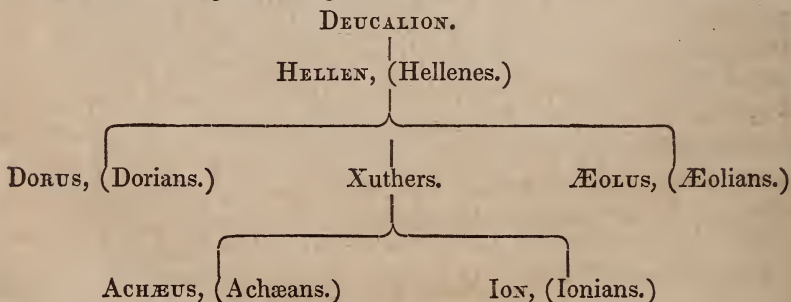
FROM THE FABULOUS AND HEROIC AGES TO THE ABOLITION
OF ROYALTY IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

1. THE early traditions of Greece agree with the sacred Scriptures in representing the south-eastern extremity of Europe as peopled at an earlier period than the other portions of the western world. Like the continent of America when first discovered by the Europeans, we find that in its early ages, Greece was inhabited by numerous tribes of hunters and shepherds, among whom the most remarkable were the Pelas'gi and Helle'nes. 2. The Pelas'gi were the more ancient and barbarous people; yet they were not totally destitute of civilization, since they founded Argos and Sicyon, the most ancient states of Greece, about eighteen centuries before the Christian era. They are also supposed to have erected those ancient buildings, remnants of which are still found in Greece and the islands, which from their rude and massive style of architecture, are named cyclopic. 3. I'nachus, who was nearly contemporary with Abraham, is the first great Pelasgic leader mentioned in history, but it is not easy to discover whether he was a native of Greece or a foreigner; his having formed a settlement on the sea-coast, and given his name to a river, renders the latter the more probable conjecture. 4. During two centuries the Pelas'gi maintained their pre-eminence in southern Greece, and extended their dominions northwards as far as Thes'saly, where they first came into collision with their Hellenic rivals. 5. The Helle'nes, as they were subsequently called, from Hellen, the son of Deuca'lion, first made their appearance in Pho'cis near the foot of mount Parnassus. Being

driven from thence by a flood, whose history has been mixed up with the traditions of the Universal Deluge, they migrated into Thessaly, from whence they expelled the Pelas'gi. In the middle of the sixteenth century before Christ, they descended southwards, and driving the former inhabitants every where before them, eventually became masters of the greater part of Greece. 6. The more ancient race retained possession only of Arca'dia, and that part of Epi'rus near Dodo'na; the remaining Pelas'gi either united themselves to the victorious tribes, or removed to Italy, Crete, and some of the islands. For several centuries after, the remnant of the Pelasgic race might be distinguished in these countries by their rude dialect and barbarous manners, so unlike the language and customs of their more polished neighbours.

1600— } 7. The Helle'nes were always remarkable
1300 B.C. } for their attachment to the country and religious
institutions of their ancestors, for their eager desire of
knowledge, and for the readiness with which they adopted the
improvements introduced by foreigners from more civilized
nations. 8. This powerful tribe subdivided itself into four
great branches, deriving their names from Deuca'lion's im-
mediate posterity; they were the Æo'lians, Io'nians, Do'-
rians, and Achæ'ans.* These four tribes did not include
all the slender ramifications of the nation; but they mark
with sufficient accuracy the great divisions of the Grecian
people, which continued afterwards to be distinguished by
many peculiarities of language, speech, and political govern-
ment. 9. Besides these original inhabitants, colonies at the
same early period came into Greece from the more civilized
countries, E'gypt, Phœ'nicia, and My'sia. Of these, the
most remarkable were the colony of Ce'crops from Sa'is in

* The derivation of the tribes will be better understood by an inspection of the following Genealogical Table.



Egypt, who settled in Attica; Dan'aus and his companions, likewise from Egypt, who were received into Ar'gos, a Phœnician colony guided by Cad'mus who founded Thebes; and at a later time, a small band of My'sians, whose leader Pe'lops arrived at such power in his new country, that he gave his name to the peninsula of southern Greece, and became the ancestor of a race of kings, who for a time possessed all the thrones of the Peloponnesus. 10. These successive colonies introduced into Greece the first elements of civilization, such as a knowledge of the uses of metals, the Phœ'nician alphabet, and the art of agriculture; by this means the wandering hunters and shepherds were brought to unite in villages, and their foreign visitors being thus placed in contact with the original inhabitants, acquired their language and customs, and soon melted away into the general mass. 11. But the new colonies did not alter the distinction between the great branches of the Hellenic family; the Æolians took possession of western Greece and the principality of Elis in the Peloponne'sus; the Do'rians colonized Macedon and Crete, and made the mountainous district Doris the chief residence of their tribe; the Io'nians, whose name was afterwards almost lost in the illustrious appellation of Athenians, possessed Attica; and the Achæ'ans were masters of Ar'golus and Laco'nia.

12. Although Greece was thus divided into a number of small states united by no common bond, a national spirit and a certain brotherly feeling pervaded all the families of the Hellenic race.* These were partly produced by the institution of national festivals, at which all the Hellenes and none others were permitted to attend; the chief of these were the games celebrated at the end of every four years in honour of Jupiter at Olym'pia, a city of E'lis. But the unity of the detached nations of the Greeks was principally owing to the celebrated Amphictyōn'ic council which met twice every year, either at Del'phi or Thermop'ylæ, both for political and religious purposes. 13. This species of national congress appears to have originated in a federative union of the Thessalian princes to protect their dominions from the ravages of the barbarous Thracians; the southern states perceiving the advantages that flowed from this alliance, sought and obtained a participation in its benefits, and thus a bond of union was established for the several Grecian

* See Introduction, chapter V.

states. As the responses of the Delphic oracle were received as authoritative declarations of the divine will by all the states, its conservation became an object of national concern, and was therefore intrusted to the annual assembly. 14. Amphic'tyon, a descendant of Deuca'lion, drew up the code of laws by which the council was regulated, and in consequence it was called after his name.

15. In the mean time, the chivalrous spirit of the nation was gradually aroused; the heroic emulation excited by the national games was prevented from displaying itself in civil slaughter by the feeling of union which the Amphictyonic council inspired; and the chieftains sought for fame by enterprises that conducted them beyond the land of their fore-
 B. C. } fathers. The first expedition undertaken by the
 1250. } Grecian princes in conjunction was the Argo-
 nau'tic, under the guidance of Ja'son a Thessalian chieftain. 16. It is not easy to discover the precise objects of this armament amid the cloud of fables with which the poets have enveloped the subjects; but the results are easily discovered in the rapid improvement of commerce and navigation which followed the successful return of the Argo'nauts. Hitherto Thessaly appears to have been the most powerful and flourishing part of Greece, for its superior fertility secured pre-eminence while all the states remained agricultural; but from this time forward the southern states began to take the lead, their favourable situations for trade compensating for the deficiencies of the soil, until at length the name of Thessaly disappears from the pages of history.

B.C. } 17. The domestic calamities of Œ'dipus, and
 1225. } the unhappy war between his sons, again united the Grecian states in a military enterprise. The influence of the Argive monarch, Adrastus, induced the southern princes to espouse the cause of his son-in-law, Polyni'ces, and attempt the expulsion of Eteac'les from the throne of
 B.C. } Thebes. The confederates were unsuccessful; but
 1215. } their sons, the Epig'oni, renewed the attempt, and captured Thebes. In consequence of these disasters, the Theban power was for a long succession of ages almost annihilated, and its name was odious in every part of Greece.

18. The Argonaut'ic expedition and the two Theban wars prepared the minds of the people for a great national undertaking of all the combined Hellenic races; and that object was attained in the war against Troy. The poems of Homer furnish us with a pretty accurate picture of the political state



Siege of Troy.

of Greece at the time when that celebrated enterprise was undertaken. 19. Sparta and Myce'næ* appear to have been the most powerful states: they were both governed by princes of the Pelopid race, which had just arrived at the height of its power. The different tribes were ruled by hereditary chieftains, who combined the offices of leader in war and judge in peace; but the authority possessed by the rulers does not appear to have been despotic, and was more or less extended in proportion to their qualifications, particularly their valour in battle. The people dwelt in cities, but still were chiefly employed in cultivating the land and tending cattle; commerce, however, had not been neglected, and the art of navigation was rapidly advancing, especially among the Greeks on the eastern coast. 20. When { B.C.
the suitors of Hel'en were summoned to fulfil the { 1174.
oath they had taken to secure her possession to the husband of her choice, they selected as their leader, Agamemnon, king of Myce'næ, not merely because he was brother of the injured Menela'us, but because the Argive kingdom was at that time superior to all the others. 21. After a protracted siege of ten years, Troy fell; but the captors had no great reason to rejoice in their success: some of their bravest warriors had fallen in the contest, others perished in the voyage home; the greater part of the remainder found at their return strangers in possession of their thrones, and either fell beneath the daggers of the usurpers, or were

* The seat of government was transferred from Argos to Mycenæ by Perseus, after he had accidentally slain his grandfather.

compelled to seek new homes in a foreign land. But to Greece in general, this war produced at least one beneficial result; it kindled one common national spirit—a spirit, which, in spite of feuds and dissensions, was never wholly extinguished. From the time of the Trojan war downwards, the Helle'nes looked upon themselves always as constituting one people.

22. The period immediately succeeding this memorable expedition was very stormy, in consequence of the many disorders in the ruling families, more especially in that of Pe'lops. But still greater commotions were produced by the efforts of the Heraclei'dæ, or descendants of Her'cules, to regain their hereditary possessions in the Peloponnesus.

23. Her'cules, the most illustrious prince of the Perseid line, had scarcely finished his mortal career, when his children were divested of their property and driven into banishment. They retired to the mountainous district of Doris, and patiently waited for an opportunity of returning to their native land. The greatness of Agamem'non's power prevented the exiles from making any efforts during his life; but after his unexpected disasters, they made two unsuccessful attempts to break through the Corinthian isthmus.

B.C. } 24. Warned by past misfortunes, the descendants
1104. } of Her'cules in the fifth degree, resolved to make their next attempt by sea, and prepared a large armament at Naupac'tus, (Lepanto,) a convenient sea-port on the Corinthian gulf. They were aided by large bodies of Do'rians and Æto'lians, who were eager to exchange their own barren mountains for the fertile vales of the Peloponne'sus.

25. The invaders were everywhere successful; and the family of Pelops became as remarkable for their calamities, as they had previously been for their good fortune.* If there was any foundation for the horrible crimes with which this family has been charged, they merited the destruction by which they were overtaken.

26. The consequence of this successful invasion was an entire revolution in southern Greece. The territories of Argos, Sparta, Messe'ne, and Corinth, wrested from the Achæ'ans, who had hitherto inhabited them, became Do'rian; Elis fell to the share of the Æ'tolians; and the expelled Achæ'ans in their turn drove out the Ionians, who had settled in the north of the peninsula, and gave the name of Achai'a to that part of the coun-

* Let the reader consult the Classical Dictionary for the lives of Tantalus, Atreus, Thyestes, Ægisthus, and Orestes.

try. The fugitive Io'nians were hospitably received by their ancient kinsmen, the Athenians, and a war broke out between that people and the Heraclei'dæ, which terminated to the advantage of the former, in consequence of the patriotic self-devotion of Co'drus, the Athenian king.

27. The number of persons whom this great revolution had deprived of their homes, led to the foundation of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. The Æolians were the first who migrated across the Ægei'an sea: they settled on the coasts of My'sia and Phry'gia, which had formed part of the ancient kingdom of Priam, and they also occupied the islands of Les'bos, Ten'edos, and the Hecatonne'si. The Io'nians several years after imitated their example. They sailed from Attica, accompanied by several Bœo'tians and Eubœ'ans, and seizing on the coast of Lydia, founded several cities which soon attained a great height of wealth and power. Finally, the Do'rians, either from restlessness of disposition, or too rapid an increase of population, sent colonies to the south of Ca'ria, and gave the name of Do'ris to a peninsula in that province.

28. During the two centuries that succeeded these great changes, the Asiatic Greeks rapidly increased both in wealth and intelligence; but in the parent states civilization appears to have retrograded. Yet in this interval, the foundation was laid of that constitution of things which afterwards existed in Greece. In all the states except Epi'rus, hereditary royalty was abolished, and a republican form of government adopted, which impressed on the minds of the people that love of political freedom which formed the principal feature in their national character. In this new order of things, each city framed a constitution for itself, and hence arose as many free states as there were cities in the respective districts.

29. Even at this early age, we find that Sparta was considered the chief of the Do'rian, and Athens of the Io'nian states. 30. The history of the former, previous to the promulgation of the laws of Lycur'gus, exhibits nothing but petty wars with the Argives and Arca'dians, and civil broils resulting from the unequal division of property; but the domestic changes which occurred at Athens during the same period, were attended with the most important results. The situation and peculiarities of Attica made it less exposed to the inroads of wandering hordes than the other portions of the country, and thus ensured for it that security which is

essential to the growth of national prosperity. From the brief notices of its kings, we learn that Athens was peculiarly favoured with a series of wise and virtuous sovereigns. 31. The'seus extended and improved the institutions which Ce'crops had brought from Egypt, and was in fact the founder of the Athenian constitution; Menestheus is honourably mentioned by Homer as the leader of a free people, and Co'drus, the last of their monarchs, sacrificed his life for the safety of his country. 32. We have already mentioned the causes that led to the war between the Athenians and the Heracleidæ: an oracle had declared that the Athenians would prove victorious if their king fell in the contest; Co'drus, when informed of the prophecy, disguised himself as a peasant, went into the enemy's camp, purposely insulted one of the hostile soldiers, and was slain. The Heracleidæ, being informed of the circumstance, despaired of victory, and immediately retreated into their own country. In compliment to his memory, the Athenians abolished the title of king, and their rulers were for the future denominated Ar'chons. The Ar'chons at first held their place for life, and were selected from the family of Co'drus, but afterwards they were chosen every ten years, and at length the archonship was made annual, and all the citizens declared eligible to the office. 34. The last person that held the archonship for life was Alcmaeon, whose family was subsequently considered the leaders of the Athenian aristocracy. A struggle similar to that between the patricians and plebeians at Rome took place at Athens, for the possession of the supreme power, but in the latter city the popular cause prevailed.

35. For the history of the other states we have but few materials, and the details are neither interesting nor important. Corinth, indeed, by its happy situation between the two Grecian seas, was the depôt of the commerce between Asia, Greece, and Italy; but it did not until a very late period take an active part in the affairs of Greece. Sparta, though opposed by Argos, Messe'ne, and Tege'a, maintained its superiority in the Peloponnesus; and Athens having triumphed over the rival states of Mega'ra and Ægi'na, was recognised as the principal city in central Greece. From the superior power of these two great states, the general history of Greece is intimately connected with theirs, and they consequently demand more attention than our limits will allow us to bestow on the rest.

Questions for Examination.

1. Which were the most remarkable of the early Grecian tribes ?
2. Did the Pelasgi found any states ?
3. Who was their leader ?
4. How long did they retain their superiority ?
5. By whom were they subdued ?
6. Did any relics of the Pelasgic race remain ?
7. What was the character of the Hellenes ?
8. How were they subdivided ?
9. What colonies settled in Greece ?
10. Did Greece derive any advantage from the new settlers ?
11. Where were the four Hellenic tribes settled ?
12. How was a national spirit diffused through the detached portions of the Hellenic race ?
13. How did the Amphyctionic council originate ?
14. Whence did it receive its name ?
15. In what great enterprise did the Grecian chieftains first combine ?
16. What were the consequences of the Argonautic expedition ?
17. What calamities befell Thebes ?
18. Was any remarkable war carried on by the combined Grecian forces ?
19. What was the political condition of Greece at the commencement of the Trojan war ?
20. Who commanded the allied army ?
21. Did any important consequences result from this expedition ?
22. What great event caused remarkable commotions in Greece after the Trojan war ?
23. Whither had the Heracleidæ retired when banished from the Peloponnesus ?
24. How did they conduct the invasion ?
25. Did the invasion succeed ?
26. What were its consequences ?
27. In what part of Asia Minor did the Grecian colonies settle ?
28. What political revolution took place shortly after in the Grecian states ?
29. What states began to take a lead in Greece ?
30. Did they meet with any interruptions to their prosperity ?
31. What kings of Athens are remarkable ?
32. How did Codrus die ?
33. What compliment did the Athenians pay his memory ?
34. Who was the last hereditary Archon ?
35. What states were the early rivals of Athens and Sparta ?

CHAPTER II.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND THE LAWS OF
LYCURGUS.

1. LACEDÆ'MON, as we have already observed, was in the beginning governed by kings, of whom thirteen in succession held the reins of power, of the race of the Pelop'idæ. Under the Heraclei'dæ, who succeeded them, instead of one king, the people admitted two, who governed with equal authority.*

2. This change is said to have been owing to the following circumstance: Aristode'mus dying, left two sons, Eurys'thenes and Pro'cles, who were twins, and so very much alike that it was hardly possible to distinguish the one from the other: the mother, equally attached to both, and desirous of advancing both to the throne, pretended that she really could not tell which of them was born first, or which had the best claim; the people therefore invested both with the sovereign power; and this form of government, however strange, continued to subsist for several centuries.†

3. It was during this latter period that the He'lots,‡ or peasants of Sparta, were enslaved; for these people, having taken up arms in order to vindicate their right to the same privileges as the citizens enjoyed, which the first two kings had bestowed upon them, but of which Agis, the son of Eurys'thenes, had deprived them, they were after a violent struggle subdued.

4. To punish them for their rebellion, they and their posterity were condemned to perpetual slavery; and, to render their condition as disgraceful as it was remarkable, all other slaves were called by the general name of Helots.

5. To prevent the repetition of these and the like dis-

* This form of government was called a dyarchy.

† That is, one of each family ascended the throne. There were thirty princes in succession of the line of Eurys'thenes, and twenty-seven of that of Pro'cles.

‡ The Helots were inhabitants of Helos, an ancient city of Laco'nia, who, having given offence to the Spartans, were subdued, and made slaves. The same appellation was afterwards given to all the slaves in Sparta.



Lycurgus proclaiming Charilaus king.

orders, to which this little state was subject, Lycur'gus* instituted his celebrated body of laws, which make so conspicuous a figure in the history of Greece, and which continued for a long time to render Lacedæ'mon at once the terror and the umpire of the neighbouring kingdoms.

6. But before he thus displayed his patriotism and his abilities as a legislator, he gave, if possible, a still more striking proof of his disinterestedness and love of justice. For, having succeeded to the throne by the death of his elder brother, Polydec'tes, without issue, the queen-dowager, his sister-in-law, offered to destroy the posthumous child, provided he would marry her, and admit her into a share of power.

7. Lycur'gus dissembled his resentment at so unnatural a proposal; and fearing that she might use means to put her design in execution, he assured her that he would take care to remove her son out of the way.

8. But Lycur'gus commanded the boy to be brought to him; and presenting him to the people as their lawful sovereign, by the name of Charila'us, he continued thenceforward to act, not as king, but as regent.

9. The better to qualify himself for the office of a legislator, which he was now about to assume, he travelled into Crete, and afterwards into Asia, where he is said to have discovered the works of Homer. Thence he went into

* Lycur'gus was the son of Euno'mús, the fifth king of the Eurytio'nian line, by a second wife.

Egypt; and, having made himself acquainted with the customs and institutions of the various countries through which he passed, he at length returned home; and being assisted in his designs by some of the leading men of the state, he published his celebrated code of laws.*

10. By these it was enacted that the kings should retain their right of succession as before; but their authority was considerably diminished by the institution of a senate, consisting of twenty-eight members, chosen by the people for life, into which none were eligible till they were sixty years of age.

11. The kings, however, still enjoyed all their outward marks of dignity and respect. They had the chief seats in every public assembly; they gave their votes first; they received ambassadors, and other strangers of distinction; and in time of war they had the command of the army; though upon these occasions they were subject to the control of the senate, who sometimes obliged them to march against the enemy, or return home, contrary to their judgment or inclination.

12. The senators, too, were the more respectable, as they held their places for life; and, besides being possessed of so considerable a share of the executive, they were invested with the whole of the judicial power; and this part of their duty they executed with such integrity and discretion, that though there lay an appeal from them to the people, yet their decrees were very seldom reversed.

13. Their authority, however, was about a century after controlled by the erection of a superior court, called the Court of the Eph'ori, consisting of five members only, chosen annually from among the people. These had a power to arrest and imprison even the persons of their kings, if they acted in a manner unbecoming their station.†

14. In order to reconcile the people to this mode of

* During his absence, the kingdom of Lacedæmon appears to have been a prey to anarchy and licentiousness. The kings possessed merely the shadow of authority, and the people were becoming lawless, discontented, and rebellious. Aware of the influence of religion, or rather of, superstition, on the minds of the commonalty, he visited Delphi, and obtained the sanction of the oracle to his meditated reformation.

† The Eph'ori (inspectors) possessed almost boundless authority: they presided in popular assemblies; decided on war or peace; decreed the number of forces, and the funds for their maintenance; they were the supreme dispensers of justice; and, by degrees, the kings became little more than generals under them.

government, in which, though they had a nominal, they had no real share, Lycur'gus adopted two expedients, equally bold and decisive.

15. These were, to divide all the lands of the state equally among the citizens, and to abolish the use of money. The lands of Laco'nia* he divided into thirty thousand parts, and those of Sparta into nine thousand; and these he portioned out to the respective inhabitants of each district.

16. To abolish the use of money, he did not think it necessary to deprive those who were possessed of gold and silver of their property; he thought it sufficient to render those metals of little or no value; and to order that nothing but iron money should pass in exchange for any commodity. This coin also he made so heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required to carry home a sum of ten minæ, or about twenty pounds sterling.

17. As it had no currency among the other states of Greece, it soon fell into contempt even among the Spartans themselves, who despised it so much that money was at last brought nearly into disuse, and few troubled themselves with more than was necessary to answer their daily expenses.

18. To enforce the practice of temperance and sobriety, Lycur'gus ordained that all the men should eat together in one common hall. Every one was obliged to send thither his provisions monthly, consisting of one bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, and two pounds and a half of figs; and this regulation was so rigidly observed, that a long time after, when Agis returned from a successful expedition, he was severely reprimanded for having eaten with his queen in private.

19. Black broth was their favourite dish; of what ingredients it was composed is not known; but as they used no flesh in their entertainments, it probably resembled those lentil soups which are still in use on the continent of Europe. Dionys'ius the tyrant found this fare very unpalatable; but with him it wanted the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

20. To accustom the youth to early habits of discipline and obedience, Lycur'gus took their education out of the

* The ancient name of the kingdom of Lacedæ'mon.

hands of the parents, and committed it to masters appointed by the state.

21. So desirous, indeed, was he of having a hardy and robust race of citizens, that such children as were born with any capital defect were not suffered to be brought up, but were exposed to perish in a cavern near Mount Tayg'etus; and such as, upon a public view, were deemed sound and healthy, were adopted as children of the state, and delivered to their parents to be nursed with rigour and severity.

22. From their tenderest years they were accustomed to make no choice in their eating, not to be afraid in the dark, or when left alone; not to be peevish or fretful; to walk barefoot; to lie on beds of rushes; to wear the same clothes summer and winter; and to fear nothing from their equals.

23. At the age of seven they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the classes for a public education, where their discipline was yet more rigid and severe. They were still obliged to go barefoot, their heads were shaved, and they fought with one another naked.

24. To enable them the better to endure bodily pain without complaining, they were annually whipt at the altar of Diana; and the boy that bore this punishment with the greatest fortitude was highly honoured. Plutarch tells us, that he has seen children expire under this cruel treatment; and mentions one, who, having stolen a fox, and hid it under his coat, chose rather to let the animal tear out his vitals than discover the theft.

25. In order to prepare them for the stratagems of war, they were permitted to steal from one another; but if they were caught in the fact they were punished for their want of dexterity.*

26. At twelve years of age they were removed into a higher class, where their labour and discipline were still more severe. They had now their skirmishes between small parties, and their mock fights between larger bodies; and in these they frequently fought with such obstinacy, that some have been known to lose their eyes, and others their lives in the contest.

27. Such was the constant discipline of the minority,

* This abominable law made the name of Spartan as infamous for moral depravity, as it was celebrated for martial prowess. Spartan faith, like Punic faith in the western world, was the proverbial expression for the worst perfidy.

which lasted till the age of thirty, before which time they were not permitted to marry, to enter the army, or to bear any office in the state.

28. The discipline of the virgins was as severe as that of the young men. They were inured to a life of labour and industry till they were twenty years of age, before which time they were not considered as marriageable. They had also their peculiar exercises. They ran, wrestled, and pitched the bar ; and performed all these feats before the whole body of the citizens.

29. So masculine an education did not fail to bestow upon the Spartan women equal vigour of body and mind ; they were bold, hardy, and patriotic, filled with a sense of honour, and a love of military glory.

30. Some foreign women, in conversation with the wife of Leonidas, saying that the Spartan women alone knew how to govern the men, she boldly replied, "The Spartan women alone are the mothers of men." A mother was known to give her son a shield when going to battle, with this gallant advice, "Return with it, or return upon it:" thereby in effect telling him, that rather than throw it away in flight, he should be borne home upon it dead.

31. After the battle of Leuctra, the parents of those who fell in the action went to the temples to thank the gods that their sons had done their duty, while those whose children survived that dreadful day were overwhelmed with grief.*

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the early government of Lacedæmon ?
 2. To what was the change owing ?
 3. What disastrous occurrence took place at this period ?
 4. What punishment was inflicted on the Helots ?
 5. What was done to prevent a repetition of these disorders ?
 6. Did not Lycurgus display great disinterestedness and love of justice ?
 7. How did he receive this infamous proposal ?
 8. Did this artifice succeed, and what followed ?
-

* This code, which has been very highly praised by philosophers in ancient and modern times, eventually proved the ruin of Greece. A durable peace could no longer be expected to exist between the states, when the centre of the country was occupied by a military commonwealth, whose citizens must have been impelled to war by the restlessness common to man, since all the occupations of agriculture and domestic life were left to the care of slaves.

9. How did Lycurgus qualify himself for his meditated undertaking ?
10. What was his first regulation ?
11. What prerogatives did the kings still possess ?
12. What rendered the senators respectable, and how did they discharge their duty ?
13. Was there no appeal from their authority ?
14. How did Lycurgus reconcile the people to these changes ?
15. What were those expedients ?
16. How did he abolish the use of money ?
17. What were the consequences of this regulation ?
18. How did Lycurgus enforce the practice of temperance and sobriety ?
19. What was their usual diet ?
20. How was the business of education regulated ?
21. By what means did he endeavour to ensure a hardy and vigorous race ?
22. To what were the children accustomed ?
23. At what age were they taken from their parents, and what discipline did they undergo ?
24. How were they accustomed to endure bodily pain ?
25. By what means were they prepared for the stratagems of war ?
26. At what age were they removed into a higher class, and how were they then employed ?
27. How long did this rigorous discipline last ?
28. Were females thus rigorously treated ?
29. What advantages resulted from such an education ?
30. Give some instances of female patriotism.
31. What happened after the battle of Leuctra ?

SECTION II.

LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

1. BESIDES these general regulations, there were many other subordinate maxims, that by long and constant practice obtained the force of laws.

2. The Spartans were expressly forbidden to exercise any mechanic art. War was their chief occupation, and in time of peace they employed themselves in hunting, or in bodily exercises. The Helots, or slaves, tilled their lands for them, and received for their labour a bare subsistence.

3. Nor was this the only hardship to which these unhappy men were subject. They were in a manner bound to the soil, as it was not lawful to sell them to strangers, or to make them free. Nay, if at any time their numbers increased to such a degree as to excite the suspicion of their cruel masters, there was a Cryptia, or secret act, by which it was

permitted to destroy them without mercy. Thucyd'ides relates that two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once without ever after being heard of.*

4. Nor were they only thus wantonly put to death ; they were even made a mockery of while living, being often purposely intoxicated, and in that condition exposed before the children, in order to deter them from this kind of debauchery.

5. As to the citizens themselves, being possessed by means of their slaves of competence and leisure, they were almost always in company in their large common halls, where they met and conversed with one another.

6. The love of their country was their ruling passion, and all self-interest seemed lost in the general wish for the welfare of the public. Pædare'tus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank in the city, converted his disappointment into a source of joy, " that there were three hundred better men in Sparta than he."

7. The Spartans were forbidden to make frequent war upon the same people, lest they should teach their discipline to others. When they had broken and routed their enemies, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to ensure the victory : and thus the enemy, knowing that all who resisted were put to the sword, often took to flight as the most effectual means of insuring their safety.

8. With the Spartans themselves the case was directly the reverse ; for their first and most inviolable maxim was, never to turn their backs on the enemy, however inferior to them in numbers, nor ever to resign their arms but with their life.

9. Indeed they would not suffer the contrary notion to be propagated, or even mentioned among them. For when the poet Archilo'chus came to Sparta, he was obliged to quit the city, for having asserted, in one of his poems, that it was better for a man to lose his arms than his life.

* The particulars of this horrid massacre render it still more atrocious. The Helots were ordered by their masters to select two thousand of their bravest and most meritorious youths, who by the general consent of their companions deserved the crown of liberty ; and when, invested with this perfidious ornament, the unsuspecting freemen had paraded the streets, and sacrificed in the temples, exulting in their late emancipation, these new members of the community disappeared from the sight of men, nor was it ever known by what means they had been destroyed.

10. Thus depending upon their valour alone, their legislator would not allow them to fortify the city. It was his opinion, that a wall of men was preferable to a wall of brick, and that the valour which is obliged to take shelter within a fortification is little better than cowardice.

11. Such was the general purport of the institutions of Lycur'gus, which from their tendency gained the esteem and admiration of all the surrounding states.* In order to render them as lasting as they were excellent, Lycur'gus pretended that something was still wanting to the completion of his plan, and that it was necessary for him to go and consult the oracle of Delphi. In the mean time, he persuaded his countrymen to take an oath for the strict observance of all his laws till his return, and then left Sparta with a firm resolution of never seeing it more.

12. When he arrived at Delphi, he inquired of the oracle, whether the laws he had made were sufficient to render the Lacedæmo'nians happy ; and being told that they were, he sent this answer to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death.† Others say, that he died in Crete, ordered his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea.

13. Whichever of these was the case, he equally obliged his countrymen, by the oath they had taken, to observe his laws for ever ; which, indeed, they were sufficiently inclined to do, from a conviction of their real and intrinsic merit.‡

* They met, however, with such decided disapprobation from the wealthy inhabitants of Sparta, that Lycur'gus was in imminent danger from their hostility. On his proceeding to make a division of property, a great sedition arose, so that he found himself obliged to fly to a sanctuary. He was closely pursued, and on his looking back, Alcan'der, a young nobleman of a generous but too hasty disposition, struck him on the eye, and beat it out. The legislator stopped, and showing his face all bloody to the people, they were so struck with horror at the deed that they delivered Alcan'der into his hands, to be dealt with according to his pleasure. Lycur'gus took him home, reasoned with him, and treated him so mildly, that, from his enemy, Alcan'der became his great admirer, and contributed not a little to reconcile the people to his institutions.

† It seems probable, that by this voluntary sacrifice of himself for the good of his country, Lycur'gus contributed more towards the strict observance of his rules than by any oath that he imposed. The reverence entertained for his memory rendered a breach of his ordinances little less than sacrilege ; they therefore remained in force more than 400 years.

‡ The laws of Lycurgus were admirably calculated to form a race of valiant and hardy warriors ; but here their merit ends ; every kindlier

14. The first opportunity which the Spartans had to display the superiority of their power among the neighbouring states, was in the war between them and the Messe'nians.

15. Some Messe'nian youths accidentally met a party of Spartan virgins who had come to worship in a temple of Diana, that stood at the common boundary of both states, and stimulated by passion insulted them. The young women on their return home refused to survive their disgrace, and perished miserably by their own hands. Nearly at the same time a Lacedæmo'nian sold to strangers some cattle that had been committed to his care by a rich Messe'nian, and treacherously murdered his son, when he came to inquire after the plundered property. The injured father vainly complained to the Spartan rulers; and being maddened by his loss, revenged on some innocent passengers the injuries that had been inflicted on him by others. The Spartans sent deputies to demand the person of the offender, but the Messe'nians, taking into consideration the wrongs by which he had been provoked, refused to deliver him up. They offered however to refer all the differences between the two nations to the Amphictyon'ic council; a proposal which the Spartans, eager to seize on the rich plains of Messe'nia, did not even deign to honour with an answer.

16. The Messe'nians were at last overthrown and besieged in the city of Ithome, and obliged to submit to the Spartans.

17. The Messe'nians felt the severity of their lot the more acutely, as the responses of the Pythia had led them to hope for a different termination of the war. They were treated with the utmost harshness by their cruel conquerors; they were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Spartans, to present them every year with half the produce of

feeling of nature was sacrificed for military glory; the martial virtues superseded every other, and domestic felicity was banished from the city. The patriotism and courage of the Spartans were truly conspicuous, but were too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of every social endearment. In short, the constitution of Lycurgus was designed to exhibit and preserve in the fullest perfection the virtues of savage life, and those alone. He confounded civilization with luxury, and therefore deliberately preferred barbarity to refinement. Literature and the arts were banished from his state, and brutality reigned in their stead. The most extraordinary thing connected with this constitution was the length of time that it existed. With scarcely any change this unnatural code regulated the Spartan government for 400 years, but when it once fell, its restoration was impossible.

their lands, and compelled, under pain of the severest punishment, to appear in mourning habits at the funeral of the Spartan kings and magistrates.

18. For thirty years the Messe'nians submitted to the bitter yoke ; but during that period their resources had been recruited, their cities partially rebuilt, and the pain of servitude felt more bitterly every hour of its continuance. The other nations in the peninsula began also to sympathize with their condition, especially the Arcadians, who had been long in alliance with Messe'ne, and the Argives, always jealous of the Spartan power, and now irritated by some recent usurpations of the Spartans in the territories of Argos. It seemed a favourable opportunity to strike for freedom, and the Messe'nians embraced it with avidity.

Questions for Examination.

1. Were there not other regulations of less importance ?
2. What was the usual occupation of the Spartans ?
3. What was the general treatment of the Helots ?
4. What further cruelties were exercised on them ?
5. How did the citizens employ themselves ?
6. What was their ruling passion ?
7. What other maxims did they follow ?
8. Did the Spartans often follow their example ?
9. Did they rigorously enforce this maxim ?
10. What was the consequence of this ?
11. What was the general opinion respecting the laws of Lycurgus, and how was their observance enforced ?
12. What passed at Delphi, and what was the event ?
13. What effect did his death produce ?
14. What gave the Spartans an opportunity of proving the efficacy of these new regulations ?
15. How did the war between the Messenians and Spartans originate ?
16. How did the war end ?
17. How were the Messenians treated ?
18. Did they submit to the yoke ?

SECTION III

SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

1. THE Messe'nians rose up as one man, and at once expelled the Spartans from their dominions. The leader of the insurrection was Aristom'enes, a youth descended { B. c.
from the ancient line of Messe'nian kings, adorned { 682.
with the most extraordinary qualities of mind and body.

2. The first engagement was fought at De'ræ with doubtful success ; but so conspicuous was the valour of the Messe'nian leader, that his soldiers unanimously saluted him king, on the field of battle. He however declined the dangerous name, declaring himself satisfied with the humble title of general.

3. His next exploit resembled the action of a hero of romance rather than of history. He entered Sparta, which was neither walled nor lighted, by night, and proceeding to the temple of Minerva, hung up a buckler there as a memorial of his exploit, and an offering to propitiate the favour of that warlike goddess in the war which he had commenced.

4. Two other Messenians, imitating the hardihood of their general, rode into the very middle of the Lacedæmonian camp, while the soldiers were celebrating the festival of Castor and Pollux. The beauty of their persons, the richness of their dress, the fiery steeds on which they were mounted, made the superstitious crowd believe that their heavenly protectors had come in person to grace the festival with their presence. But they were soon fatally undeceived, when the young heroes, couching their lances, charged the astonished multitude, and having slain an immense number, returned to their countrymen triumphant and uninjured.

5. These exploits, and others of a similar kind, so terrified the Spartans, that they sent to consult the oracle of Apollo. The response of the Pythia was, that the Spartans would be successful, under the command of an Athenian general.

6. Nothing could have been more mortifying to the Spartan pride ; both on account of the old hostility between the Doric and Ionic race ; and the jealousy with which they viewed the supremacy of the Attic republic in northern Greece.

7. The Athenians were unwilling to disobey the precept of the god, but at the same time, they felt

a generous sympathy in the efforts of a brave people, struggling for freedom, and were besides not on the best possible terms with the Spartans. They therefore sent Tyrtæ'us, a lame schoolmaster and poet, selecting him as the least likely person to prove a good general. But though Tyrtæ'us did not possess qualifications to make him shine in the field, he was not the less a useful acquisition to the Spartans. His songs and orations roused the drooping spirits of the people, and enabled them to bear their misfortunes with courage.

8. The heroic spirit of Aristom'enes enabled him to contend against the oracle and the new courage that it had infused into the breast of his enemies. Three times he defeated them in successive engagements, and as often merited the *Hecatombho'nia*, a sacrifice due to those who had killed one hundred enemies in battle. He was adored by his soldiers for his successful daring, and beloved by all for the affectionate kindness of his manners.* Even the Spartans could not avoid respecting him; for he treated his prisoners with lenity, and was always particularly anxious to protect females from military violence. 9. This latter trait in his character was once the occasion of saving his life. Aristom'enes with his followers made a sudden attack on Egi'la, and put the male inhabitants to flight; the women, however, trained according to the laws of Lycurgus in martial exercises, made an unexpected attack on the assailants, threw them into remediless confusion, and took many prisoners, among whom was Aristom'enes. A young priestess, whom on a former occasion the young Messe'nian had rescued from a licentious soldier, now repaid the kindness of her benefactor, and restored him, during the night, to life and freedom.

10. Three years of continued success on the part of the Messe'nians had again reduced the Spartans to despair, when they were roused by the songs of Tyrtæ'us to make one more effort. Knowing that the Lacedæmonians were more anxious, even than the other Greeks, about the rites of sepulture, he advised each soldier before he entered the battle to inscribe his name on his right arm, that his body, if he fell, might be recognised by his friends. This simple expedient produced the most astonishing effects: the Spartans, sure at all events of an honourable grave, despised

* The student of English history will not fail to perceive the great similarity that exists between the character and fortune of Aristomenes and William Wallace, the hero of Scotland.

death, and were eager to march against foes whom they had hitherto dreaded.

11. But the Spartans did not trust to their courage alone: though the people were poor, the public treasury was rich; and they bribed the leader of the Arca'dian auxiliaries, king Aristoc'rates, to desert his post in the beginning of the engagement. Aristom'enes had drawn up his forces near a place named the Great Ditch, from whence this is usually called the battle of the Trenches, and had taken such precautions as the importance of a fight that was to decide the fate of his country demanded. But treachery rendered skill and valour equally useless: at the sound of the first trumpet, Aristoc'rates marched off at the head of his Arcadians, without striking a blow, leaving the flank of his allies exposed to the Spartans, who assailed the astonished Messe'nians with irresistible fury. The fate of the day was not doubtful for a single instant; and yet the Spartans obtained a hard-won victory. The gallant defenders of their country kept their ranks unbroken to the last, and the remnant were conducted by Aristom'enes in good order from the field.

12. This victory gave the invaders possession of all the level parts of Messe'nia. Aristom'enes retired to the mountains, and there maintained a guerilla warfare, from which the enemy suffered severely. Making the mountain-castle of Ei'ra his head-quarters, he sallied out on the enemy when least expected, and at points where they never dreamed of meeting a foe. He laid waste the lands of Laco'nia, attacked the villages, and kept the whole country in alarm. 13. Frequent success inspired him with a confidence which had nearly proved fatal. He delayed too long in one of his expeditions, was overtaken by the Spartan army, made prisoner after a desperate resistance, and with his companions sentenced to death. They were ordered to be precipitated alive into the Cea'da, a precipitous cavern used for the punishment of the worst criminals. All the companions of Aristom'enes were killed by the fall; he escaped by a singular combination of circumstances, which, though natural enough in themselves, exceed the wildest fictions of romance in their strange interest. As a compliment to his valour, he was allowed to retain his shield; its boss striking against the sides of the cave broke the violence of the fall, and he tumbled alive on the dead bodies of his companions. In this cave of horrors he remained for two days, when he saw a fox devouring the carcasses; he grasped the animal's tail,

and was dragged to an aperture, whence he could discern a twinkling of light. With much difficulty he worked his way out, and was received at Ei'ra as one risen from the dead.

14. The Spartans could not credit the news of their victim's escape until several new and daring exploits convinced them that Aristom'enes was yet alive. They resolved to make fresh exertion to terminate a war which had been so long protracted, and from which they had suffered so severely. With a numerous army they blocked up the mountain passes, and Aristom'enes was at length shut up and closely besieged in his last retreat.

15. Eira, the last fortress of the Messe'nians, was preserved for eleven years by the vigorous and persevering efforts of this single man. At length, a Spartan deserter having accidentally learned that a violent storm had forced the Messe'nians to abandon some of their posts, resolved to purchase his pardon by conveying the news to his countrymen. Notwithstanding the slipperiness of the steep ascent, the Spartans, by the direction of this double-dyed traitor, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained possession of all the principal posts before the Messe'nians became sensible of their danger. 16. When the morning appeared, they saw the impossibility of any other assistance than what might be derived from despair. They determined at every hazard to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themselves with tiles, with stones, and every weapon that presented itself to their fury. 17. The combat lasted for three days, though the Spartans continually relieved their forces by fresh troops, while the Messe'nians had to combat cold, sleep, fatigue, and hunger, in addition to the enemy. Aristom'enes saw that it was impossible to avert the fate of Ei'ra, and prepared to force his way through
 B.C. } the midst of the enemy. He drew up his shattered
 671. } forces in a square column, placing the women and children in the centre, and assuming the command of the van, advanced with presented spears against the Spartan lines. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatæ'us the diviner, opened their ranks and allowed them to pass unhurt, judiciously avoiding to irritate their despair. The Messe'nians abandoned their city, and in mournful silence marched towards Arca'dia. 18. When the Arca'dians heard of the capture of Ei'ra, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontier of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals,

clothing, and all things necessary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives, whom having met at mount Lycæ'a, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and give them their daughters in marriage.

19. The friendship of the Arca'dians suggested to Aristom'enes an attempt, whose boldness little corresponded with the depression of his fortunes. As the greater part of the enemy's forces still lay at Ei'ra, he determined with his little band to make a sudden attack on Sparta itself; believing that an unfortified city would easily yield to the sudden and unexpected attack of his valiant followers.

20. This enterprise was disconcerted by a second act of treachery on the part of Aristoc'rates, the Arcadian king, who delayed the Messe'nians, under the pretence of unfavourable omens, and in the mean time despatched a messenger to Sparta, informing its sovereign of the approaching danger.

21. The messenger was intercepted on his return, and the indignant Arca'dians stoned to death the traitor that disgraced the name of king. The Messe'nians took no share in this act of substantial justice. They stood observing the countenance of Aristom'enes, whose looks expressed grief rather than resentment. He, indeed, is honourably distinguished above all the other heroes of antiquity, by never having yielded to the dictates of revengeful feelings. He had refused to retaliate on the Spartan prisoners the cruelties practised on the Messe'nians; and now that his dearest hopes were blasted for ever, he refused to raise a hand against the traitor who had caused his ruin.

22. The aged and infirm Messe'nians remained in Arca'dia, where they continued to be treated with the most generous hospitality. The young and vigorous, being joined by others of their countrymen, determined to preserve their independence in a foreign land. Aristom'enes recommended them to settle in some distant colony, but refused to accompany them in their exile. While they yet deliberated on the choice of a country, a messenger arrived from Rhe'gium, then governed by Anax'ilas, a prince descended from the Messe'nian royal family, inviting the exiles to seek an asylum in his dominions.

23. When they arrived at Rhe'gium, Anax'ilas informed them that his subjects were constantly harassed by the piratical attacks of the Zancle'ans, an Æo'lian colony on the opposite side of the Sicilian strait. The capture of Zanclé (he observed) would relieve his subjects from the depredations to which they were exposed,

and would enable the Messe'nians to establish themselves in the most delightful and advantageous spot on the whole Sicilian coast. The proposal was eagerly embraced, and the Zancle'ans, before they had time to make any preparation, found themselves vigorously besieged by sea and land. After an ineffectual resistance they deserted their walls, and fled to the sanctuary of their temples. 24. The Rhe'gians were inclined to put them all to the sword, but the Messe'nians, by suffering persecution, had learned mercy; they offered their friendship to the citizens, and the Zancle'ans, thus delivered from the perils of the sword and servitude, the usual penalties of unsuccessful war, promised eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The victors and the vanquished coalesced into one people, and the name of Zancle' was changed to Messené; a name which may still be recognised after the lapse of nearly twenty-six centuries.

25. Aristom'enes passed over into Asia, probably with the hope of exciting the Lydian monarch to undertake some enterprise, which might finally be of benefit to Messene. He was everywhere received with the greatest respect, and the king of Ilys'sus, in the island of Rhodes, having been ordered by an oracle to marry the daughter of the most illustrious Greek, unhesitatingly chose the daughter of Aristom'enes. But upon his arrival at Sardis, he was seized with a distemper which put an end to his life. Other leaders recorded in Grecian history, have defended the independence of their country with more success, but none with greater zeal and ability; other names have been more celebrated, but none better merited glory, since he united in a pre-eminent degree the virtues of a citizen to the courage of a soldier, and was equally distinguished by the vigour of his intellect, and the purity of his heart.

26. The subjugation of the Messe'nians made Sparta decidedly the first state in southern Greece; other wars followed with the Argives and Arca'dians, but were not attended with any important consequences; except, that the island of Cythe'ra was wrested from the Argives, and annexed to B. c. } the territories of Laconia: an important acquisition,
550. } which enabled the Spartans to become partially a naval power.

Questions for Examination.

1. Who was the leader of the insurgents in the second Messe'nian war?
2. Where did the two armies come to an engagement?

3. What was the next exploit of Aristom'enes ?
4. Were any other Messe'nians equally daring ?
5. What answer did the Spartans receive from the Delphic oracle ?
6. Why was this direction mortifying to their pride ?
7. Whom did the Athenians send as general ?
8. How did Aristom'enes conduct himself during the war ?
9. From what danger was Aristom'enes rescued by the gratitude of the Spartan woman ?
10. How did Tyrtæus induce the Spartans to continue the war ?
11. By whose treachery did the Spartans prevail ?
12. Whither did Aristom'enes retire ?
13. In what extraordinary manner did he escape from imminent danger ?
14. How did the Spartans act when they heard of the escape of Aristom'enes ?
15. By what means was the capture of Eira finally effected ?
16. Did the Messe'nians make any resistance ?
17. How did Aristom'enes act in this crisis ?
18. Did any people show kindness to the Messe'nians ?
19. What daring exploit did Aristom'enes next meditate ?
20. How was he disappointed ?
21. Did the traitor escape with impunity ?
22. From whom did the Messe'nians receive an offer of an asylum ?
23. What enterprise did the exiles undertake ?
24. How did they prove that their hearts were not hardened by misfortunes ?
25. What became of Aristom'enes ?
26. Did the Spartans make any other acquisition after the conquest of Messene ?

CHAPTER III.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS, THE LAWS OF SOLON, AND
THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC FROM THE TIME OF SOLON
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PERSIAN WAR.

SECTION I.

1. WE have already mentioned the changes that took place in the Athenian constitution after the death of Codrus. The abolition of royalty was at first an injury rather than a service to the cause of popular freedom ; for in Athens, as in Rome, the supreme power was seized on by a haughty aristocracy, that permitted no person, however distinguished, to hold any official situation, unless a member of their own body. But the early and rapid diffusion of wealth and

intelligence among the Athenian people made the dominion of the Eupat'ridæ there more insecure than that of the patricians at Rome ; and besides jealousies arose between the nobles themselves, which induced them to appeal to the people for support, and thus raised their consequence in the state. 2. The nine archons and the court of Areop'agus possessed all the legislative and executive authority at Athens ; they were invariably selected from the Eupat'ridæ, and before the time of Solon there does not appear to have been any appeal from their authority. The year was named after the first archon, whence he was called Epon'ymus, but oftener emphatically The Archon. The second had the title of king,* and discharged the duties of high priest. The third was named Pol'emarch, and to him warlike affairs were intrusted. The remaining six were called Thesmoth'etæ, and their business was to prepare all laws that were to be proposed in the assemblies of the people.

3. The Alcmeon'idæ, descended from Alcmeon, the last perpetual archon, and through him from Codrus, were both, by their family and riches, far the most powerful of the Athenian Eupat'ridæ. Cy'lon, a young nobleman of great ambition and power, was unwilling to brook the predominance of that house, and, aided by his relatives and clients, he seized on the citadel of Athens. 4. An outcry was raised, that he wished to become a tyrant—a name given by the Greeks to those who had by violence made themselves the masters of a free state. Meg'acles, the head of the Alcmeon'idæ, who was then chief archon, immediately assembled his forces, and closely blockaded the insurgents. Cylon and his followers were soon reduced to great distress ; the leader escaped, and the others fled for safety to the altars. Induced by the promise of life to quit their sanctuaries, they were all miserably butchered ; but such an impression was produced on the minds of the Athenians by this act of perfidy and impiety, that all concerned in it were banished. They returned, indeed, but though many of their descendants were distinguished for their abilities and integrity, yet they were constantly embarrassed whenever their opponents demanded that they should be expelled, as the offspring of those who had committed sacrilege.

* *Βασιλεὺς*. Both in Athens and Rome there were certain solemn sacrifices which none but a king could offer ; hence, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Romans elected a priest, to whom they gave the title of Rex Sacrificulus.

5. The disorders arising from this, and many } B.C.
 similar commotions, induced the Athenians to elect } 624.
 Dra'co as their legislator, deeming that a fixed code of laws
 would be the best security against the oppression of the
 nobles, and the sedition of the people. Dra'co was a man
 of unblemished integrity, great talent, and highly cultivated
 mind, but he was deficient in political experience, and wanted
 that knowledge, the most important to a statesman—the
 knowledge of human nature. 6. He prepared a code of
 laws, so absurdly severe, that they could not be put into
 execution ; the consequence was, that criminals enjoyed
 perfect impunity, and the disorders of the state became
 worse than ever. Dra'co's laws were said to be written,
 not with ink, but blood ; his own remark is fully sufficient
 to show how unfit he was for the office that he had undertaken :—“ Small crimes,” said he, “ deserve death, and I
 know of no heavier punishment for greater.”

7. Though the Doric invasion of Attica had failed when
 the Heraclei'dæ retreated after the death of Co'drus, a por-
 tion of the Dorians had seized on the territories of Megaris,
 a narrow district north of the Peloponnesus, and retained it
 in spite of every exertion made to expel them by their Ionic
 neighbours.* They now took advantage of the dissensions
 in Attica to make themselves masters of Nisæ'a, a valuable
 sea-port on the Saron'ic gulf ;† and at the same time Sal'a-
 mis threw off the yoke of Athens, and asserted its indepen-
 dence. Several unsuccessful expeditions were undertaken
 to reduce the island to obedience, until at length a law was
 passed prohibiting any Athenian, under pain of death, from
 proposing any new attempt against Salamis.

8. There was then in Athens a young man, a native of
 the island, but descended from Codrus, the last Athenian
 king, who perceived that the people were sorry for the hasty
 law which they had passed, but that no one had courage to
 propose its repeal. So'lon, for that was his name, had been
 hitherto remarkable only for his love of literature, and his
 successful cultivation of poetry ; qualities, which though
 valuable in themselves, did not confer on him any politi-
 cal importance. He therefore had recourse to stratagem.
 Having spread a report that he had been seized with a fit

* We have already mentioned, that the Athenians were of the Ionic
 race. Their territories were sometimes called Ionia, even at a late period
 of their history.

† See Map.

of insanity, he appeared one morning in the market-place clad in a strange dress, and by his frantic gestures, soon collected a large crowd; as soon as his audience appeared sufficiently numerous, he recited to them a poem on the loss of Salamis, so affecting, that the whole multitude burst into tears. An assembly of the people was instantly convoked, the law was repealed, a new expedition, under the command of Solon, decreed by acclamation, and in a very few days, Salamis was again reduced to obedience.

B.C. } 9. But this brilliant success could not remedy the
594. } internal evils of the state, distracted by the disputes of factions, and by the tyranny of the nobility, who had usurped the entire power of the state. At length the eyes of all were turned on Solon, who had become distinguished, as much by his political wisdom as he had been for his bravery at Salamis. On his return from his travels in Egypt and Asia, then the countries most remarkable for their advancement in knowledge and civilization, he was appointed chief archon,* with full power to prepare a code of laws that might reform all the abuses of the state.

* Solon was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The others were Thales the Mile'sian, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pit'tacus of Mitylène, Perian'der of Corinth, and Bias and Cleobu'lus, whose birth-places are uncertain. One day, at the court of Perian'der, a question was proposed, Which was the most perfect popular government? That, said Bias, where the laws have no superior. That, said Thales, where the people are neither too rich nor too poor. That, said Anachar'sis the Scythian, where virtue is honoured, and vice detested. That, said Pit'tacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the base. That, said Cleobu'lus, where the citizens fear blame more than punishment. That, said Chilo, where the laws are more regarded than the orators. But Solon's opinion seems to be best founded, who said—where an injury done to the meanest subject is an insult upon the whole community.

Nor must we omit his celebrated interview with Crœsus, king of Ly'dia. That monarch, who was reputed the richest prince of his time, having displayed before him his immense wealth and treasures, asked whether he did not think him the happiest of mankind? No, replied Solon; I know one man more happy, a poor peasant of Greece, who, being neither in affluence nor poverty, has but few wants, and has learned to supply those few by his own labour. But at least, said the vain monarch, do you not think *me* happy? Alas! cried Solon, what man can be pronounced happy before he dies? The sagacity of Solon's replies appeared in the sequel. The kingdom of Ly'dia was invaded by Cyrus, the empire destroyed, and Crœsus himself taken prisoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manners of the times, he then recollected the maxims of Solon, and



Solon preparing laws for Athens.

10. His political system was, as he himself declared, not the best that could be formed, but the best that Athens was capable of receiving ; still his civil and criminal codes were so ably formed, that the Romans made them the basis of their legislation, and from thence they have been transferred into all the judicial systems of modern Europe.

11. His first step was in favour of the poor, who had been grievously oppressed by the rich ; it was difficult or a poor freeman to earn his subsistence, where the labour was principally performed by slaves ; hence the poor were deeply in debt, and at Athens, insolvent debtors, together with their wives and children, might be reduced into slavery, unless they could find other means of satisfying their creditors. He lowered the rate of interest, and took away all power over the person of a debtor, but as a compensation to the creditors, he raised the value of money, and by that means increased their riches.

12. His next step was to repeal all the laws of Draco, except those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich.

13. He divided the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to their incomes. Those that had five

could not help crying out, when on the scaffold, upon Solon's name. Cyrus, hearing him repeat this with great earnestness, was desirous of knowing the reason ; and being informed by Cræsus of that philosopher's remarkable observation, he began to fear for himself, pardoned Cræsus, and took him for the future into his confidence and friendship. Thus Solon had the merit of saving one king's life, and of reforming another.

hundred measures yearly, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred were placed in the second; and those that had but two hundred made up the third. 14. All the rest of the citizens, whose incomes fell short of two hundred measures were comprised in the fourth and last class, and were considered as incapable of holding any employment whatever in the state. 15. But, to compensate for this exclusion, he gave every private citizen a right to vote in the great assembly of the people. And this, indeed, was a right of the most important nature; for by the law of Athens it was permitted, after the decision of the magistrates, to appeal to the general assembly of the people; and thus, in time, all causes of weight and consequence came before them.

16. To counteract, however, the influence of a popular assembly, Solon gave greater weight to the court of Arei'opagus, and also instituted another council, consisting of four hundred.* Their duty was to take cognizance of all matters about to be proposed in the public assembly of the people, and not to permit any law to be propounded which did not appear to them, on mature deliberation, conducive to the public good. To them was also intrusted the examination of the magistrates' accounts, and the management of the funds destined for the maintenance of those who were supported at the public expense. Finally, they had a general power of directing every thing in the public administration, for which provision had not been otherwise made by law. 17. Before his time the Arei'opagus was composed of such citizens as were most remarkable for their probity and wisdom. But Solon now ordained, that none should be admitted into it, but such as had filled the office of archon. 18. By this means the dignity, and consequently the authority, of the court was greatly increased: and such was its reputation for integrity and discernment, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

19. The court of Arei'opagus had supreme control over the religion and morals of the state. The introduction of new deities, the regulation of public worship, and the edu-

* This council was the senate, which consisted of one hundred from each tribe. It was increased to five hundred when the tribes were augmented to ten; and when the number of tribes was twelve, the senate consisted of six hundred members. Their presidents were called Pry'tanes

cation of youth, were objects of their peculiar care. Their duties, though not of such great political importance as those of the council of the four hundred, were of greater dignity, and therefore the Arei'opagus were usually called the upper council.

20. Such was the reformation in the general plan of government: his particular laws for the administration of justice were more numerous, and equally judicious. To promote a spirit of patriotism, and prevent all selfish indifference about the concerns of the republic, he ordained that whoever in public dissensions espoused neither party, but remained neuter, should be declared infamous, condemned to perpetual exile, and to have all his estates confiscated.

21. From a similar motive he permitted any person to espouse the quarrel of one that was injured or insulted. He abolished the custom of giving marriage-portions with young women, unless they were only children. He wished to render matrimony an honourable connexion, and not, as it had too often been, and still continues to be, a mere matter of traffic. 22. He allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his wealth as he pleased, and thus the natural dependence of the young upon the old was strengthened and increased. He lessened the rewards of the victors at the Olym'pic and Isth'mian games, whom he considered as a useless, and often a dangerous set of citizens, and bestowed the money thus saved upon the widows and children of those who had fallen in the service of their country.

23. To encourage industry, he empowered the Arei'opagus to inquire into every man's method of procuring a livelihood, and to punish such as had no visible way of doing so. With the like view, he ordained that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had neglected to give him some trade or calling; and all illegitimate children were exempted from the same duty, as they owed nothing to their parents but the stigma of their birth. 24. No one was allowed to speak ill of the dead, or to revile another in public; the magistrates were obliged to be particularly circumspect in their behaviour; and it was even death for an archon to be seen intoxicated. 25. Against the crime of parricide he made no law, as supposing it could never exist in any society.

Questions for Examination.

1. Did the cause of popular liberty gain by the abolition of royalty at Athens?
2. Who at first possessed the supreme power?
3. Did any popular leader rebel against the nobles?
4. What became of Cylon and his followers?
5. Who was the first Athenian legislator?
6. What was the character of Draco's laws?
7. What misfortunes did the Athenians suffer in consequence of their dissensions?
8. By whom were the people roused to recover Salamis?
9. To what high office was Solon raised?
10. What was the character of his laws?
11. What was his first step?
12. What was his next step?
13. How did he divide the wealthy citizens?
14. How were the rest of the people classed?
15. What compensation was made for this exclusion?
16. How did Solon adjust the balance of power?
17. Of whom was the Areopagus composed?
18. What was the consequence of this measure?
19. What was the business of the four hundred?
20. What farther regulations did he enforce?
21. Mention a few others.
22. By what means did he increase the dependence of the young on the old, and provide for the widow and the orphan?
23. How did he encourage industry?
24. In what cases were children exempt from the duty of assisting a parent in necessity?
25. How did he preserve public decorum?
26. What was the punishment of parricide and incontinence?

SECTION II.

FIRST SACRED WAR.

1. SOON after the establishment of Solon's laws at Athens, a religious war broke out in Pho'cis, which eventually produced the most fatal consequences to all the Grecian states. The territory of Crissa, situated on the gulf, sometimes called after its name, though only twenty-four miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, contained three powerful cities; Crissa the capital, Cirrha on the western, and Anticirrha on the eastern side of a creek in the Corinthian gulf, all excellent harbours, and surrounded by fertile fields.

Enjoying such advantages, the Crisse'ans soon became a rich and flourishing community, their ports were crowded with the merchant-ships, not only of Greece, but also of Africa, Italy, and Sicily; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, the easiest road to which lay through their territories, brought crowds of pilgrims thither from every quarter. But they did not know how to make a judicious use of their blessings; they began to impose heavy duties on the importation of merchandise, and to levy a vexatious tax on the pilgrims. Remonstrances were in vain made by the sufferers, and by the managers of the Delphic oracle, who justly dreaded that the continuance of such exactions would deter pilgrims from visiting the holy shrine. 2. The Crisse'ans not only continued their extortion, but resolved to seize on the treasures that had been consecrated to Apollo. Accordingly they marched against Delphi, which was totally unprepared for resistance, captured the city, and enriched themselves with the plunder of the temple. Not contented with this impiety, they fell on the worshippers of the deity assembled in the sacred grove, and inflicted on them every injury that lust and cruelty could dictate. A sacred deputation of the Amphietyons, who attempted to check their outrages, was forced to fly, and thus alone escaped from being murdered by the ferocious plunderers.

3. Such a sacrilege excited universal detestation throughout Greece; but there was some reason to dread that the mutual jealousy of the several states would prevent their union in inflicting punishment. The council of the Amphietyons remained undecided and irresolute, until Solon, the Athenian deputy to the assembly, roused them to assert their own dignity, and avenge the insult that had been offered to their national temple.

4. The lands of Crissa were laid waste by the Amphietyonic forces; but the strength of the city walls defied the utmost efforts of the invaders. At length, in the ninth year of the war, a pestilence broke out in the camp, and the Amphietyons, almost ready to resign the enterprise in despair, sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. The answer returned was, that they should send to Cos for the fawn of gold. 5. The obscurity of this response did not prevent the Amphietyons from sending a deputation to the island. When the ambassadors had stated their business in the Co'an assembly, one of its members rose and declared, "I am the fawn intended by the god, (his name was Neb'ros,

which in Greek signifies a fawn,) and my son Chry'sos (the name of gold in the same language) has borne away the prize from all his competitors in manly exercises." The deputies immediately hailed Chry'sos as the general selected by Apollo, and as medicine was the hereditary profession of the family of Neb'ros,* they could scarcely have made a better choice.

6. Chry'sos was placed at the head of the besieging army; by his judicious regulations health was restored in the camp, but previous sufferings had so diminished the number of the Amphic'tyonic soldiers, that they scarcely outnumbered the garrison, and therefore the conquest of Crissa seemed as far off as ever. But an accidental circumstance† having revealed to Chrysos the situation of the wooden pipe by which water was conveyed into the town, he poisoned the spring, and the garrison in consequence began to decline daily. At length Crissa was captured by assault, the males were put to the sword, the women and children sold into slavery; and the property of the city consecrated to Apollo.

7. But the vengeance of the offended deity was still unsatisfied; many of the most sacrilegious had taken refuge in Cirrha, and until that city had been destroyed, it appeared that the atonement would be incomplete. Cirrha, however, seemed likely to make as desperate a defence as Crissa, and again a deputation was sent to consult the oracle. The response in this case was still more extraordinary than in the preceding; it was declared that "the Amphic'tyons could not succeed until the waves of the sea washed the sacred precincts of Delphi." While the other deputies were totally at a loss to discover how the sea could be brought over the Parnassian mountains to the holy land; Solon proposed an expedient which was immediately adopted. This was to consecrate the entire of the Crisse'an territory to Apollo, and since they could not bring the sea to the sacred boundaries, to take the reverse order of proceeding, and extend the sacred bounds to the sea. This ingenious plan was adopted, the land of Crissa was conse-

* Æscul'apius was said to have been the founder of the family; the celebrated physician Hippo'crates was one of its descendants.

† The horse of Eurylochus, the commander before Chrysos, was said to have stamped on the spot several days successively, and this was looked on as a revelation from Apollo of the means by which Crissa might be taken.

crated with all the usual ceremonies, and the besiegers, now convinced of the favour of the gods, renewed their efforts with so much vigour, that Cirrha soon shared the fate of the capital.

8. The lands of the Crisseans being devoted to the gods, could not, without impiety, be cultivated. They long remained desolate, until in a later age the Phocians, whom proximity to the temple seems to have deprived of reverence for its sanctity, took possession of the devoted soil, and thus provoked the second war.* The successful termination of this war was celebrated by the revival of the { B. c.
Pythian games, in honour of Apollo, which had previously { 591.
fallen into disuse. On this occasion the Amphictyons introduced two innovations worthy of notice; instead of honorary crowns they gave pecuniary prizes from the spoils of Crissa; and they offered separate rewards for music and poetry, for which prizes had in all former games been given conjointly.

10. Solon had provided a constitution for Athens, but he had not been able to extinguish the factions by which the state was agitated; the hardy inhabitants of the Attic mountains were bent on establishing a perfect democracy; the wealthy merchants on the coast wished to set up a commercial oligarchy, like that of Venice in modern times, and the landed proprietors who inhabited the valleys of Attica, were anxious to make the government a feudal aristocracy,† such as prevailed in most parts of Europe during the middle ages. The several leaders of these parties were Peisis'tratus, Meg'acles, and Ly'curgus.

11. Peisis'tratus, the head of the highland or democratic party, was far superior to his competitors both in intellectual and personal qualifications. A good general, a persuasive orator, and an able statesman, he possessed every requisite for arriving at supremacy in a popular state. His great rival, Meg'acles, was at the head of the family of the Alc-mæon'idæ, whose immense wealth constituted his chief support; but as this family was not one of the Eupat'ridæ, having been originally natives of the Peloponnesus, from whence they were driven by the Heraclei'dæ, Meg'acles had not such a strong hold on the people as Lycurgus, who united in his party all those who reverence high birth and ancient nobility.

12. Before the parties had yet tried their strength in

* See chap. XII.

† See Historic Miscellany, Part II. chap. I.

civil war, Solon returned to Athens after a long absence, and was in vain solicited by his cousin Peisis'tratus to aid him in his ambitious designs. The virtuous legislator indignantly refused; and foreseeing that if he remained in Athens he should witness evils which it was not in his power to prevent, he went into voluntary exile, where he died at an advanced age. 13. In the mean time, Peisis'tratus had become absolute master at Athens; having presented himself in the market-place covered with blood, he assured the people that his life had been attempted by the partisans of the nobility, on account of his affection for the multitude; he therefore entreated that he should be permitted to arm a body-guard for his protection. A decree to that effect was speedily passed, and Peisis'tratus having thus obtained the rudiments of an army, soon extended the number of his followers to such an amount that he was enabled to assume the sovereignty of his country.

14. It must be remembered that this is the account given by the political enemies of Peisis'tratus, and its accuracy may therefore be doubted. It is certain that he made no change in the Athenian constitution; he was supreme in Athens only because the party of which he was the leader had gained the upper hand. The character of Peisis'tratus, as a ruler, merits every praise; he was a great encourager of learning, and during his administration Athens first became a literary city. He arranged the poems of Ho'mer in their present order, from the detached portions sung by the wandering minstrels, and to create a correct taste for poetry, ordered that these sublime compositions should be publicly read at the solemn festivals. Though a warm friend, he was not a bitter enemy; when he returned in triumph to Athens, after having been forced into banishment by the temporary success of the opposing factions, he did not abuse his victory. The Alcmeon'idæ, indeed, were banished, but this appears to have been the work of the democracy rather than Peisis'tratus.*

15. The sons of Peisis'tratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to the authority of their father, and for some time

* The student will probably be surprised at the name *tyrant* being applied to Peisistratus; but that word had not the same meaning in ancient as in modern times. The Greeks used the word *tyrant* to designate a person who had acquired sovereign authority in a free state, even though his supremacy was obtained by honourable means, and the government administered with justice and mercy.



Death of Hipparchus.

imitated his bright example. During their administration, Athens first became remarkable for the splendour of its public buildings, and for the diligent cultivation of the fine arts. They erected Hermæ, columns surmounted with the head of Mercury, in the streets and squares, and inscribed on them moral sentences for the instruction of the people. The poets, Anac'reon* and Simon'ides,† were invited to their court, which was, indeed, the resort of all whom learning and genius made illustrious in Greece. Their reign, which lasted eighteen years, was justly termed "the golden age of literature."

16. But the possession of unlimited power too frequently leads to its abuse. Hippar'chus grossly insulted the sister of a young Athenian noble, named Harmo'dius; and he, with his friend Aristogeiton, made a sudden attack on the offender, and slew him at a public festival. The two friends perished in the tumult that ensued; but though their conduct had been dictated by personal resentment, yet as it eventually caused the restoration of Athenian freedom, Harmo'dius and Aristogeiton were celebrated by posterity as the greatest of patriots.

* Anac'reon was a famous lyric poet of Te'os, in Ionia. His poems are remarkable for their sweetness and elegance, but his life was one continued series of drunkenness and debauchery. He was choked with a grape-stone, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

† Simon'ides was a poet of Cos, celebrated for the elegance and beauty of his elegies, epigrams, and dramatic pieces. His epic poems were likewise highly esteemed. He obtained a prize for his poetry in his eighteenth year, and died at the age of ninety.

17. The murder of his brother produced a great change in the character of Hippias; he became jealous, revengeful, and cruel, in short, a tyrant in the worst sense of the word; his person and his government became alike odious; the Alcmeonidæ had sufficient influence to have him denounced B. c. } by the oracle of Delphi; and at length he was ex-
510. } pelled by the assistance of the Spartans, after his family had with little interruption governed Athens during sixty-eight years.

18. Cleis'thenes, the head of the family of the Alcmeon'idæ, began next to take a lead in the affairs of Athens. He was vigorously opposed by Isag'oras, the leader of the aristocratic faction, and by the entire body of the Eupatridæ, who looked down upon the Alcmeon'idæ as a new family. To strengthen himself against such powerful opponents, Cleis'thenes courted the support of the people, by introducing several new laws which greatly increased their influence in the state. 19. The nobles, indignant at being deprived of what they looked on as their hereditary rights, entered into secret alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and at the same time revived the almost forgotten disputes about the murder of the followers of Cy'lon. They insisted that the descendants of those engaged in that sacrilege should be banished, and the Alcmeon'idæ, foreseeing that such a demand was too much in accordance with the spirit of Grecian superstition to be resisted, went into voluntary exile.

20. Had the nobles used their victory with moderation, the constitution of Athens would probably have again become oligarchical, but the violence and cruelty of Isag'oras soon provoked a new revolution, in which the Alcmeonidæ were restored, and their opponents banished. 21. Isag'oras applied for assistance to the Spartans, and they sent an army to invade Att'ica on the west, while the Bœo'tians and Eubœ'ans attacked it on the north and west. 22. But Demara'tus, one of the Spartan kings, was averse to the Athenian war; he opposed Cleom'enes his brother-sovereign in every thing, and in consequence of these disputes, the Spartan army returned home. In the mean time the Athenians defeated the Bœo'tians and Eubœ'ans, and deprived the latter of a large portion of their territories. Under the administration of Cleis'thenes the government of Athens became a complete democracy, and so continued with but little change as long as the city retained its independence.

23. Cleom'enes ever after hated Demara'tus, and taking

advantage of some suspicious circumstances, he denied the legitimacy of his rival's birth. It was agreed to leave the question to the decision of the Delphic oracle, and the priestess, being bribed by Cleom'enes, declared that Demara'tus had no right to the Spartan crown; he was consequently deposed, and compelled to seek refuge in Persia. Cleom'enes soon after died by his own hand, after warmly struggling against the stings of remorse for his injustice and impiety. He was succeeded by Leonidas.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did the Crisseans provoke the general hatred of Greece?
2. Did they commit any other crime?
3. Who roused the Greeks to revenge the insult offered to the Delphic shrine?
4. What strange answer was given to the Amphictyons by the oracle?
5. How was this response interpreted?
6. By what means did Chrysos take Crissa?
7. How was Cirrha involved in the same fate with Crissa?
8. Did the cultivation of the Cirrhean plain cause another war at a later period?
9. How was the conclusion of the first sacred war celebrated?
10. Into what parties were the Athenians divided?
11. What were the characters and pretensions of the leaders of these parties?
12. What became of Solon?
13. How did Peisistratus succeed in obtaining supreme power?
14. In what manner was the government administered?
15. How did the sons of Peisistratus behave?
16. Why was Hipparchus murdered?
17. By whom was Hippias expelled?
18. What political changes did Cleisthenes introduce?
19. How did the nobles punish the family of the Alcæonidæ?
20. Did the Alcæonidæ return from banishment?
21. To what dangers were the Athenians exposed?
22. What success had the invaders of Attica?
23. What changes took place in the Spartan government?

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE EXPULSION OF HIPPIAS TO THE DEATH OF
MILTIADES.

SECTION I.

1. THOUGH Hip'pías, upon being driven from the throne, was obliged to abandon his native country, he did not, however, give up all hopes of being able some time or other to recover his lost power. 2. He first applied to the Lacedæmo'nians, and that people seemed sufficiently willing to espouse his cause;* they thought that his restoration might the more easily be effected, because Athens was at this time thrown into confusion, by the introduction of the new mode of voting by ostracism, that is, of procuring the banishment of any citizen for ten years, whose wealth or popularity rendered him dangerous to the state, by allowing every one above sixty years of age to give in the name of the obnoxious person, written upon a tile or oyster-shell.† 3. Before they undertook, however, to assist Hip'pías in re-ascending the throne, they thought it prudent to consult the other states of Peloponnesus with regard to the propriety of the measure, and finding all, but especially the Corinthians, averse to it, they abandoned the tyrant and his cause for ever.

4. Hip'pías, disappointed in his hopes of aid from the Lacedæmo'nians, had recourse to one whom he considered

* What rendered the Lacedæmo'nians anxious to espouse the cause of the exiled monarch, was an apprehension that Athens would become too powerful, if not weakened by tyranny or civil dissension. But the other states of Greece were equally jealous of Sparta, and refused to concur in any measure that might destroy the balance of power, which alone ensured their safety.

† A more detailed account of this remarkable mode of punishment will probably be acceptable to the reader. It was called by the Greeks *Ostrakismos*, from *Ostrakon* a tile. Every one taking a tile, on which he wrote the name of the person to be banished, carried it to a certain part of the market-place, surrounded with rails for that purpose, in which were ten gates, appointed for the ten tribes, every one of which entered at a distinct gate. After this, the archons numbered the tiles. If they were fewer than six thousand, the ostracism was void; if more, they laid every name by itself, when the whose name was written by the major part was banished for ten years.

as a much more powerful patron, Artapher'nes, governor of Sardis,* for the king of Persia

5. To him he represented the facility with which an entire conquest might be made of Athens; and the Persian court, influenced by the prospect of gaining such an addition of territory, and particularly such an extent of sea-coast, readily adopted the proposal. When the Athenians, therefore, sent a messenger into Persia to vindicate their proceedings with regard to Hip'prias, they received for answer, "That if they wished to be safe, they must admit Hip'prias for their king." But these gallant republicans had too ardent a passion for liberty, and too rooted an aversion to slavery, patiently to submit to so imperious a mandate. They therefore, returned a peremptory refusal; and from that time forward the Athenians and Persians began to prepare for commencing hostilities against each other.

6. The gallantry, indeed, of the Athenians upon this occasion is the more to be admired, as their numbers and resources bore no proportion to those of the prince whom they thus set at defiance. The Persian monarch was, at that time, the most powerful sovereign in the universe; whereas the small state of Athens did not contain above twenty thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and about fifty or sixty thousand servants. 7. Sparta, which afterwards took such a considerable share, and made so capital a figure, in the war against Persia, was still more inconsiderable with respect to numbers. These did not amount to above nine thousand citizens, and about thirty thousand peasants. Yet these two states, with very little assistance from the inferior republics, were able not only to resist, but even to baffle and defeat all the attempts of the Persian monarch;—a memorable instance of what acts of heroism may be performed by men animated by a love of freedom, and inspired with a passion for military glory.

8. The restoration of Hip'prias was not the only cause of quarrel between the Persians and the Athenians. The Greek colonies of Io'nia, Æo'lia, and Ca'ria,† that had been

* A city of Nato'lia, in Asiatic Turkey, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Lyd'ia.

† These Greek colonies had emigrated from their parent countries at different periods, and under different leaders. Enjoying a fruitful soil and most delicious climate, they silently flourished in peace and prosperity, became eminently skilled in poetry, painting, sculpture, and the art of casting brass. They likewise excelled in architecture, as the

settled for above five hundred years in Asia Minor, were at length subdued by Crœ'sus king of Lyd'ia,* and he in turn sinking under the power of Cy'rus, his conquests, of course, were incorporated with the rest of his dominions. 9. These colonies, however, had not yet lost all memory of the liberty they had formerly enjoyed ; and they therefore anxiously awaited an opportunity of delivering themselves from the Persian yoke, and of recovering their ancient independence. B.C. } 10. In this they were now encouraged by Histiaë'us,
500. } the governor, or tyrant, as he was called, of Mile'tus,† for all the Persian governors of these provinces were by the Greeks called tyrants. 11. This man, having rendered his fidelity suspected at the Persian court, had no other way of providing for his own safety than by exciting the Io'nians to a revolt. 12. By his direction, therefore, Aristag'oras, his deputy, first applied to the Lacedæmo'nians for assistance, but they were unwilling to engage in a war which would lead them to a country so distant from their home. Failing of success in that quarter, he next had recourse to the Athenians, where he met with a more favourable reception. 13. The Athenians were at this time inflamed with the highest resentment against the Persian monarch, on account of his haughty mandate with regard to the restoration of Hippias : they therefore supplied the Io'nians with twenty ships, to which the Ere'trians, and some other Eubœan states, added five more.

14. Thus supported, Aristag'oras entered the Persian territories, and penetrated into the heart of Lyd'ia, burnt Sardis, the capital city ; but being soon after deserted by the Athenians, on account of some checks he received, he found himself altogether unable to make head against the power of Persia : and though he contrived to maintain the struggle for the space of six years, yet he was at last obliged to fly into Thrace,‡ where he was cut off with all his followers. 15. As to Histiaë'us himself, being taken prisoner with a few of the insurgents, he was conducted to Artapher'nes, and that inhuman tyrant immediately ordered him to be crucified, and his head to be sent to Darius.§

Doric and Ionic orders, which they invented, sufficiently evince. See Historical Miscellany, part I.

* A province of Natolia, in Asia Minor.

† The capital of Io'nia.

‡ An extensive country in Europe, on the confines of Asia.

§ After repeated defeats, the Io'nians were compelled to take shelter in Mile'tus, one of their strongest cities : but it was soon besieged by



Capture and burning of Sardis.

16. The commencement of this war naturally tended to widen the breach between the Athenians and Persians; and the conclusion of it was no less calculated to inflame the pride and presumption of the latter, than to inspire them with the ambitious design of making an entire conquest of Greece. 17. To pave the way for this grand project, Dari'us, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, { B. c. 493. having recalled all his other generals, sent his son-in-law, Mardo'nius, to command throughout the maritime parts of Asia, and particularly to revenge the burning of Sardis, which he could neither forgive nor forget. 18. But his fleet being shattered in a storm in doubling the cape of Mount A'thos,* his army repulsed, and himself wounded, by the Thracians, who attacked him suddenly by night, Mardo'nius returned to the Persian court, covered with shame and confusion for having miscarried in his enterprise both by sea and land. 19. Darius, therefore, displaced him, and appointed two elder and abler generals, namely, Da'tis, a Mede, and Artapher'nes, son of the late governor of Sardis, in his stead. At the same time he exerted himself with unwearied diligence, in furnishing them with such an army and navy as he thought would render them certain of success.

20. Previous, however, to his invasion of Greece, he thought it became his dignity and humanity to send heralds

the fleet and army of the Persians, and after an obstinate defence, taken and burnt. Io'nia soon, however, recovered its former populousness, and was governed by the kings of Persia with great moderation and lenity.

* A mountain in Macedo'nia, now called Santo Monte, or the Holy Mountain.



The Persian embassy.

into that country to require submission from the different states, or to threaten them with his vengeance in case of refusal.* 21. The lesser states, intimidated by his power, readily submitted: but the Athenians and Spartans nobly disdained to acknowledge subjection to any earthly sovereign. 22. When, therefore, the heralds demanded earth and water, the usual method of requiring submission from inferior states, these spirited republicans threw the one into a well, and the other into a ditch, and tauntingly bid them take earth and water from thence. 23. Nay, they went still farther; they resolved to punish the Ægine'tans for having basely submitted to the power of Per'sia, and by that means betrayed the common cause of Greece.

24. These people, indeed, made some resistance; they even carried on a naval war against the Athenians; but the latter, having at length overcome them, increased their own navy to such a degree as to render it almost a match for that of Persia.

25. In the mean time Darius, having completed his levies, sent away his generals, Da'tis and Artapher'nes, to what he considered as a certain conquest. 26. They were furnished with a fleet of six hundred ships, and an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men;† and their instructions were to give up Athens and Ere'tria to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples, and to lead the inhabitants into captivity. The country was to be laid desolate, and the army was provided with a sufficient number of chains for binding the prisoners.

* This was done by demanding earth and water.

† Of these ten thousand were cavalry.

Questions for Examination.

1. Did Hippias despair in his misfortunes ?
2. To whom did he apply for assistance ?
3. What opportunity seemed favourable to Hippias ?
4. To what foreign power did the expelled tyrant appeal ?
5. How did the Athenians treat the insulting message of the Persians ?
6. Were the Athenians equal in power to the Persians ?
7. What was the strength of Sparta at the time ?
8. Was the restoration of Hippias the sole end the Persians had in view ?
9. Did the Greek colonies submit willingly to the yoke ?
10. By whom were they encouraged to revolt ?
11. What induced Histæus thus to act ?
12. What steps did he take on the occasion ?
13. What was the state of the public mind at Athens ?
14. What was the issue of the war ?
15. What was the fate of Histæus ?
16. What was the consequence of this war ?
17. How did Darius commence his operations ?
18. What was the issue of this expedition ?
19. To whom was the enterprise next committed ?
20. Did Darius offer peace ?
21. Did the Greeks comply ?
22. In what way did they comply with the requisition ?
23. What other step did they take ?
24. Was this an easy task ?
25. What expectations did Darius entertain ?
26. With what forces were they furnished, and what were their instructions ?

SECTION II.

FIRST PERSIAN INVASION.

1. To oppose this formidable invasion, the Athenians had only about ten thousand men, but all of them animated with that invincible spirit which the love of liberty ever inspires. 2. They were at this time headed by three of the greatest generals and statesmen their country ever produced, though no country ever produced more. 3. These were Milti'ades, Themis'tocles, and Aristei'des. The first was considered the ablest commander ; the second was so fond of a popular government, and so eager to ingratiate himself with his fellow-citizens, that he was frequently accused of partiality. The third was so rigidly and inflexibly just, that his name

has descended to posterity as almost another term for justice itself.

4. The Persian fleet, warned by the disaster of Mardo'nius, steered their course through the Cyc'lades, for the Athenian coasts. The islanders made no resistance to an armament whose numbers seemed to hide the waters of the Ægei'an, but either fled to their mountains, or sent earth and water as tokens of their submission. At length the invaders landed in Eubœa, and the first brunt of the war fell upon the Ere'trians, who being utterly unable to oppose so mighty a force in the field, shut themselves up in the town.

5. But though they defended the place with great gallantry, yet, after a siege of seven days, it was taken by the perfidy of two of its citizens, and reduced to ashes ; the inhabitants were put in chains, and sent as the first-fruits of victory to the Persian monarch.

6. The rest of the island was soon subdued, and the Persians resolved to invade Attica, whose shores, separated from them only by the narrow strait of the Euri'pus, seemed to invite them to an easy conquest. The measures that they adopted for accomplishing this design appear to have been very judicious ; they left a large portion of their army to garrison the islands that had been subdued,

sent all their useless attendants with the captive Ere'trians* into Asia, and selected one hundred thousand of their best infantry with a due proportion of cavalry to form the expedition.

7. They easily crossed the strait, and being directed in their march by Hippias, whose knowledge of the country and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Greece made his opinions valuable, they encamped on the Mar'athonian shore, where the level plains afforded room for the operations of cavalry, which constituted the most effective part of the invading army, but with which the Greeks were badly provided.

8. There the Athenians resolved to oppose them ; but not thinking themselves singly equal to such an undertaking, they sent first to the Spartans for assistance, and would certainly have obtained it, had it not been for a foolish superstition, which would not allow them to begin a march before the full moon.

9. They then applied to the other states of Greece ; but these, except the Plataë'ans,

* Darius, though justly incensed by the burning of Sardis, treated these captives with great lenity ; he established them as a colony on an estate of his own, about forty miles from the capital ; where their descendants were found several centuries after, still retaining evident traces of their European origin.

who sent one thousand soldiers, were too much intimidated by the power of Persia to venture to move in their defence.

10. Obligated, therefore, to depend upon their own courage alone, they collected all their forces, to the number of eleven thousand freemen, with probably an equal number of armed slaves, and intrusted the command of them to ten generals, of whom Milti'ades was the chief; and each of these was to have the direction of the troops for one day in regular succession. 11. But this arrangement was soon found to be so very inconvenient, that, by the advice of Aristei'des, the chief command was vested in Milti'ades alone, as the ablest and most experienced of all the generals. 12. At the same time it was resolved in a council of war, though only by a majority of one vote, to meet the enemy in the open field, instead of waiting for them within the walls of the city.*

13. Milti'ades, sensible of the inferiority of his numbers when compared to those of the enemy, { B.C. 490. endeavoured to make up for this defect by taking possession of an advantageous ground. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so that the enemy should not be able to surround him, or charge him in the rear. At the same time he fortified his flanks with a number of large trees that were cut down for the purpose, and strewed the ground in his front with branches, piles of stones, and other obstacles, to impede the Persian cavalry, which in consequence seem to have been rendered useless in the engagement. 14. Da'tis saw the advantage which the Athenians must derive from this masterly disposition; but relying on the superiority of his numbers, and unwilling to wait till the Spartan succours should arrive, he resolved to begin the engagement. 15. The signal for battle, however, was no sooner given, than the Athenians, instead of waiting for the onset of the enemy, rushed in upon them, according to their usual custom, with irresistible fury. 16. The Persians regarded this as the result of madness and despair, rather than of deliberate courage; but they were soon convinced of their mistake, when they found that the Athenians maintained the charge with the same spirit with which they had begun it. 17. Milti'ades had purposely and judiciously made his wings much stronger than his centre, where the slaves were posted

* This determination was highly pleasing to Milti'ades, who preferred trusting to the well-known and tried valour of his countrymen in the field, to enduring the horrors of a siege within the walls of a crowded city.

under the command of Themis'tocles and Aristei'des. 18. The Persians, availing themselves of this circumstance, attacked the centre with great bravery, and were just upon the point of making it give way, when the two wings, having now become victorious, suddenly wheeled about, and falling upon the enemy on both flanks at once, threw them into disorder. 19. The Persians fought with swords and battle-axes; the Greeks used the spear. When their dense line of lances fell upon the hostile flanks, the shock was irresistible; the rout became universal, and the enemy fled to their ships with great precipitation. The Athenians pursued them as far as the beach, and even set several of their ships on fire. 20. It was on this occasion that Cinægei'rus, the brother of the poet Æs'chylus, seized one of the enemy's ships with his right hand, as they were pushing it off from the shore. When his right hand was cut off, he laid hold of the vessel with his left; and that likewise being lopt off, he at last seized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.*

21. Seven of the enemy's ships were taken, and above six thousand men left dead upon the field of battle, not to mention those who were drowned as they were endeavouring to escape, or were consumed in the ships that were set on fire. 22. Of the Greeks there fell not above two hundred; and among these was Callim'achus, who gave the casting vote for A.M. } fighting the enemy in the field. Hip'pias, who 3514. } was the chief cause of the war, is thought to have perished in this battle; though some say he escaped, and afterwards died miserably at Lem'nos.†

23. Such was the famous battle of Mar'athon, one of the most important that is to be found in history, as it first taught the Greeks to despise the power of the Persian monarch, bravely to maintain their independence, and to go on cultivating those arts and sciences which had so evident a tendency to polish and refine their own manners, and which have since diffused their benign influence over all the rest of Europe.‡ 24. Of the marble which the Persians had

* The Athenians received the first news of this important victory from a soldier, who, though wounded, ran to Athens to announce the joyful event. On his arrival he could merely exclaim, "Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours!" and immediately expired.

† Now Stalimene, an island in the Archipelago.

‡ Immediately after the full moon, the Lacedæmo'nians began their march, and proceeded with such expedition, that in three days they com-



The Persians pursued to their ships after the battle of Marathon.

brought with them for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of their expected victory, the Athenians now caused a statue to be made by the celebrated sculptor Phid'ias, to transmit to posterity the remembrance of their defeat. This statue was dedicated to the goddess Nem'esis, who had a temple near the place. 25. Monuments were at the same time erected to the memory of all those who had fallen in the battle; and upon these were inscribed their own names, and the name of the tribe to which they belonged. 26. Of these monuments there were three kinds: one for the Athenians, one for the Plataë'ans, their allies, and one for the slaves who had been enrolled among the troops upon this pressing emergency. 27. To express their gratitude to Milti'ades, the Athenians caused a picture to be painted by one of their most eminent artists, named Polygno'tus, in which that great commander was represented at the head of the other generals, animating the troops, and setting them an example of bravery.

28. The Persian fleet, after having received the fugitives on board, doubled the cape of Su'nium and made an attempt to surprise Athens, but this had been foreseen by Milti'ades,

pleted a journey of one hundred and fifty miles. Notwithstanding this astonishing celerity, however, they arrived too late to share in the glory of a victory which had delivered Greece from the most imminent danger to which she had ever as yet been exposed. After viewing the field of battle, covered with the bodies and spoils of their enemies, and congratulating the Athe'nians on their success, they returned to their own country.

who had brought his victorious army from the field of battle to the capital. The fame and influence which Miltiades had thus acquired eventually proved the cause of his ruin. He obtained from the Athenians an armament of seventy ships, without mentioning the manner in which he designed to employ them, but simply declaring that he wished to execute a project, which would bring great riches to Athens. With this force he sailed against the island of Pa'ros, under the pretence of punishing the inhabitants for the assistance they had been compelled to give the Persians, but in reality to avenge a private quarrel of his own. He demanded from the islanders one hundred talents as the price of his retreat, but the Pa'rians heroically refused to purchase safety, and set him at defiance. After a vain attempt to storm the town, Miltiades returned to Athens wounded and disappointed. 29. For this disgraceful expedition he was brought to trial by Xanthip'pus, a nobleman of high rank. His wound prevented him from making a vigorous defence ; but the sight of the hero of Marathon extended on a couch, for he caused himself to be thus brought to the assembly, was more calculated to produce an effect on the multitude, than the most eloquent oration. The crime laid to his charge was capital, but the Athenians were unwilling to inflict the punishment of death on one who had performed such essential services to the republic. They fined him fifty talents, (about 10,000*l.*), which being unable to pay, he was thrown into prison. Miltiades died of his wounds in a few days after his imprisonment, but the fine was paid by his son Ci'mon. 30. Many historians have quoted this as an instance of the ingratitude shown by the Athenians to their public men, but assuredly the unjustifiable attack on the Pa'rians, and the lavish expenditure of the public treasures and the blood of the citizens, in prosecuting a private pique, merited a severe punishment ; and if we take into account the manner in which the resources of the state were wasted, the fine does not appear extravagant.

Questions for Examination.

1. What means had the Athenians to oppose these formidable invaders ?
2. Were they commanded by experienced generals ?
3. What were their names and characters ?
4. On whom did the storm first fall ?
5. Did they make a successful defence ?

6. What treatment did they experience from the Persian king ?
 7. What were the next movements of the Persian army ?
 8. What means did the Athenians adopt ?
 9. To whom did they next apply, and what success did they experience ?
 10. Did these disappointments discourage them ?
 11. Did this arrangement prove convenient ?
 12. In what way was it determined to oppose the enemy ?
 13. By what means was the inferiority of numbers compensated for ?
 14. Were the Persians aware of these advantages ?
 15. Did the Athenians await the attack ?
 16. Was this fury soon spent ?
 17. What was the Athenian order of battle ?
 18. What advantage did the Persians take of this ?
 19. What was the result ?
 20. What intrepid action was performed by an Athenian ?
 21. What was the loss sustained by the Persians ?
 22. What was the loss of the Greeks ?
 23. What were the consequences of the battle of Marathon ?
 24. How was the memory of the battle preserved ?
 25. By what means were the names of the slain rescued from oblivion ?
 26. How many kinds of monuments were there ?
 27. How did the Athenians express their gratitude to Miltiades ?
 28. Did Miltiades engage in any expedition disgraceful to his character ?
 29. How was he punished ?
 30. Has this occurrence been misrepresented ?
-

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF MILTIADES TO THE RETREAT OF
XERXES OUT OF GREECE.

SECTION I.

1. DARI'US, rather enraged than intimidated by the loss he had sustained in the battle of Marathon, was preparing to invade Greece in person, when, happily for the peace of that country, death put an end to his ambitious project. 2. His son Xerx'es, however, who succeeded him on the throne, was determined to execute the plan his father had formed. 3. Having just returned from a successful expedition he had made into Egypt, he expected to meet with the like good fortune in Europe. 4. But before he would

engage in so important an enterprise, he thought proper to consult the principal officers in his court. 5. Mardo'nus, his brother-in-law, well knowing his secret sentiments, and willing to flatter him in his favourite pursuits, highly applauded the resolution he had taken. But Artaba'nus, his uncle, whom years and experience had rendered wise, endeavoured to divert him from his rash design.

6. His arguments, however, instead of producing the desired effect, drew from the haughty monarch a stern reprimand, as unbecoming as it was unjust. 7. While these hostile designs were in agitation, the Athenians were assiduously employed, under the conduct of Themis'tocles, in subduing their more domestic enemies. 8. The smaller islands in the Æge'ian sea had through his exertions been already reduced to obedience; but the possession of these remained precarious, while the fleet of Ægi'na covered the sea, and bid defiance to that of Athens. 9. That they might be enabled to seize or destroy this fleet, Themis'tocles persuaded the Athenians to devote the produce of the silver mine at Laurei'um, in Attica, to the purpose of building ships of war. This prudent advice was of infinite service, as will appear in the sequel.

B.C. } 10. Xerx'es, having thus resolved upon his ex-
480. } pedition into Greece, began to make preparations for carrying it into execution; and the greatness of these showed the high sense he entertained of the power and bravery of the enemy. 11. Sardis was the general rendezvous for his land forces: and the fleet was ordered to advance along the coasts of Asia Minor, towards the Hel'lespont.* 12. On his way thither, in order to shorten its passage, he cut a canal through the neck of land that joined Mount A'thos to the continent; and, while this was doing, he addressed the mountain with all that pomp and ostentation for which the eastern princes have ever been remarkable. "Athos," said he, "thou proud aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the heavens, be not so audacious as to put obstacles in my way. If thou dost, I will cut thee level with the plain, and throw thee headlong into the sea."

13. In his march to Sardis he gave a shocking proof of the cruelty of his disposition. Having required the eldest son of Pyth'ias, a Lyd'ian prince, to attend him in the war, the father offered him all his treasure, amounting to about

* Those narrow straits, now called the Dardanelles, which separate Europe and Asia.

four millions sterling, to purchase his exemption ; and, as the young man seemed desirous of staying at home, Xerx'es commanded him immediately to be put to death before his father's eyes. Then, causing the body to be cut in two, and one part of it to be placed on the right, and the other on the left of the way, he made the whole army pass between them ; a terrible example of what every one had to expect that dared to dispute his orders.

14. His army was composed not merely of Persians, but of Medes, Lyd'ians, Bac'trians, Assyr'ians, Hyrcan'ians ; in a word, of every people, that either acknowledged his authority, dreaded his power, or courted his alliance ; so that it is said to have amounted to above two millions of men. 15. His fleet consisted of fourteen hundred and twenty-seven ships, besides a thousand lesser vessels, that were employed in carrying provisions. On board of these were six hundred thousand men ; so that the whole army might be said to amount to above two millions and a half ; which, with the women, slaves, and sutlers always attending a Persian camp, might make the whole above five millions of souls ;—a force which, if rightly conducted, might have given law to the universe ; but, being commanded by ignorance and presumption, was soon after repulsed, and finally defeated, by the small but gallant states of Greece.

16. With this mighty armament Xerx'es set out { B. C.
on his expedition, ten years after the battle of Mar'- { 480.
athon. 17. Upon reviewing his forces, his heart was naturally elated with joy, from a consciousness of his superior power : but this soon gave place to the feelings of humanity, and he burst into tears when he reflected that a hundred years hence not one of so many thousands would be alive. 18. He had previously given orders for building a bridge of boats across the Hel'lespont, or, as it is now called, the Dardanelles, which separates Asia from Europe, and is about an English mile over. 19. But this bridge, when completed, being carried away by the current, Xerx'es, like a tyrant, wreaked his vengeance upon the workmen, and like a lunatic, upon the sea. He caused the heads of the former to be struck off, and a certain number of lashes to be inflicted upon the latter, to punish it for its insolence, and fetters to be thrown into it, to teach it for the future obedience to his will ;—a striking proof how much the possession of despotic power tends not only to corrupt the heart, but even to weaken and blind the understanding. 20. A new bridge was formed

by a double range of vessels, secured by double anchors, and fastened together with the strongest cables. On these a roadway was formed by the trunks of trees; the interstices were filled up with earth, and smooth planks laid over all. The sides were fenced with wicker-work to prevent any of the horses or beasts of burden from slipping over; and upon this singular structure the entire army passed over from Aby'dos, in Asia Minor, to the little city of Ses'tus in Thrace. So great was the number of the Persians, that seven days and nights were spent in the passage.

21. Xerx'es, having thus entered Europe, began his march directly for Greece, receiving everywhere the submission of the countries through which he passed. Most of the states of Greece, overawed by his power, submitted at the first summons. Athens and Sparta alone, those glorious republics, nobly disdained such pusillanimous conduct. They gallantly resolved to oppose the invader of their country, and either to preserve their liberties entire, or to perish in the attempt.* From the moment that Xerx'es began his preparations, they had received intelligence of his designs; and in their turn began to take measures for rendering them abortive. 22. They had also sent spies to Sardis, in order to bring them an exact account of the number and quality of the enemy's forces. The spies, indeed, were seized; but Xerx'es, instead of punishing or even detaining them, ordered them to be conducted through his camp, and then dismissed, desiring them at the same time, on their return home, to give a faithful relation of what they had seen. 23. The Athenians and Spartans, however, neither intimidated by the mighty force that now came against them, nor by the base submission of the inferior states, nobly resolved to face the common danger with joint forces. These forces did not amount to above eleven thousand two hundred men: and yet, with this handful of troops, they determined to oppose the almost innumerable army of Xerx'es.

24. Their first care was to appoint a general; and they

* The whole population of these little states, which thus prepared to withstand the immense armies of Persia, was considerably less than that of Yorkshire in England. The answers of the oracles likewise, instead of being encouraging, were either ambiguous or terrifying. Yet this vast disproportion of numerical strength, and the discouraging responses of their god, did not deter these champions of liberty from their purpose, nor dispose them to submit to the arbitrary mandate of the Persian despot.



Aristeides and the peasant.

wisely made choice of Themis'tocles, the ablest commander that had appeared in Greece since the death of Milti'ades. They likewise recalled Aristei'des, who had been driven into banishment by the faction of his enemies,* at the head of which, indeed, was Themis'tocles: such is the jealousy that sometimes prevails between great men, though equally attached to the interest of their country!

25. Ambassadors were sent to the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, soliciting them to assist their parent country in this crisis; the inhabitants of these states, with that eager love for Hel'las which pervaded all the Hel'lenic tribes, immediately promised their assistance. Ge'lon, who then ruled at Sy'racuse, was appointed to command the auxiliaries, and, impressed with a deep sense of his own importance and abilities, required to be nominated captain-general of all the Grecian forces. The Spartans, with their usual pride, peremptorily rejected his demand; and before any amicable arrangement could be formed, the Græco-Italian states were obliged to contend for their own independence at home. The Carthaginians had been long the commercial rivals of the Grecian colonists, and had vainly attempted to crush their rising greatness; the invasion of Greece by Xerxes seemed

* It was upon the occasion of his banishment, that a peasant who could not write, and did not know Aristei'des personally, applied to him, and desired him to write the name of that citizen upon the shell, by which his vote was given against him. "Has he done you any wrong," said Aristei'des, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?"—"No," replied the peasant, "but I hate to hear him always praised for his justice." Aristei'des, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote down his name upon it, and contentedly retired into exile.

to afford them a favourable opportunity ; they entered into a close alliance with the Persian monarch, and attacked Sicily at the very same moment that he invaded Greece. The defeat of the Carthaginians was as signal as that of their Asiatic ally ; but it did not occur at a period sufficiently early to allow of the colonists parting with any of their forces for the defence of the parent state.

26. Themis'tocles saw that the enemy must be opposed by sea as well as by land ; and, to enable him to do this with the greater effect, he caused a hundred galleys to be built, and turned all his thoughts towards the improvement of the navy. The oracle had declared some time before, that Athens should defend herself only with wooden walls ; and he took advantage of the ambiguity of this reply, to persuade his countrymen that by such walls was meant her shipping. The Lacedæmo'nians used equal industry in improving their navy, so that, upon the approach of Xerx'es, the confederates found themselves possessed of a squadron of two hundred and eighty sail, the command of which was conferred upon Eurybi'ades, a Spartan.

27. Being unable to cope with the overwhelming numbers of the Persians in the open plains, the Greeks resolved to confine their military operations to the defence of the few passes that are found in the chains of mountains by which Hellas is intersected. For this purpose, they sent a strong detachment to secure the vale of Tempe', which formed the usual road between Macedonia and Thessaly. But having soon after discovered that there was another pass at some distance, and their army being insufficient to garrison both, they retreated southwards, and finally resolved to make their first stand at the straits of Thermop'ylæ, which secured the entrance to Phocis and Bœotia.

28. The command of this important pass was given to Leon'idæ, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of six thousand men. Of these three hundred only were Spartans ; the rest consisted of Bœo'tians, Corinthians, Pho'cians, and other allies. This chosen band were taught from the beginning to consider themselves as a forlorn hope, placed there to check the progress of the enemy, and give them a foretaste of the desperate valour of Greece. Nor were even oracles wanting to inspire them with enthusiastic ardour. It had been declared that, to procure the safety of Greece, it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Her'cules, should die ; and this task was now cheerfully

undertaken by Leonidas, who, when he marched out of Lacedæmon, considered himself a willing sacrifice for his country.

Questions for Examination.

1. Did the late defeat of the Persians discourage farther attempts ?
2. Did his successor abandon the idea ?
3. What encouraged him to this ?
4. Did he hastily engage in this enterprise ?
5. What advice was given him ?
6. How were these endeavours received ?
7. What in the mean time occupied the attention of the Athenians ?
8. What success did they meet with ?
9. What means were proposed for its capture or destruction ?
10. What steps did Xerxes take for the accomplishment of his design ?
11. What was the destination of the fleet and army ?
12. By what means did he facilitate the passage of his fleet ?
13. Did he not evince a cruel disposition ?
14. Of whom was his army composed ?
15. What was his naval force, and the whole amount of his armament ?
16. When did he commence his march ?
17. What were his feelings on reviewing his troops ?
18. What method did he adopt to cross the Hellespont ?
19. What was the fate of this bridge, and the behaviour of Xerxes on the occasion ?
20. Was the bridge repaired ?
21. What kind of reception did he experience ?
22. How did Xerxes treat the Grecian spies ?
23. What was the amount of the Grecian forces ?
24. Who were the Athenian generals ?
25. Did the western Greeks assist in this war ?
26. Were the Greeks provided with fleets ?
27. Where did they resolve to make their first stand ?
28. How was Thermopylæ garrisoned ?

SECTION II.

SECOND PERSIAN INVASION.

1. In the mean time Xerxes advanced with his immense army, the very sight of which, he thought, would terrify the Greeks into submission, without his being obliged to strike a single blow. 2. Great therefore was his surprise, when he found that a few desperate men were determined to dispute his passage through the straits of Thermopylæ.

3. At first he could not believe they would persevere in their resolution ; and he therefore gave them four days to reflect on their danger, hoping they would at last think it most prudent to retire.* But when he found them remain immovable in their post, he sent them a summons to deliver up their arms. 4. Leon'idas, with a true Spartan contempt, desired him "to come and take them." And when it was observed that the Persian forces were so numerous that their very arrows would darken the sun, "Then," replied Diene'ces, a Spartan, "we shall fight in the shade."

5. Xerx'es, provoked at these sarcasms, resolved to begin the attack immediately. The first assault was made by a body of Medes, but these were instantly repulsed with great slaughter. A body of ten thousand Persians, commonly known by the name of the immortal band, made another attempt to dislodge the Grecians, but with no better success than the former.† 6. In a word, the Greeks maintained their ground against the whole power of the Persian army for two days together : and would probably have maintained it much longer, had it not been for the treachery of Epial'tes, a Trachin'ian,‡ who, having deserted to the enemy, conducted a body of twenty thousand Persians through a by-path across a mountain that overhung the straits.§

7. Leon'idas, seeing the enemy in this situation, plainly perceived that his post was no longer tenable ; he therefore advised ^{a tactics} ~~the allies~~ to retire, and reserve themselves for better times, and ^{the allies} ~~the~~ future safety of Greece. "As for myself and my fellow Spartans," said he, "we are obliged by our laws not to fly : I owe a life to my country, and it is now my duty to fall in its defence." The Thes'pians, in number about seven hundred, which probably comprised the entire strength of that little commonwealth, gallantly resolved to share the fate of the Spartans, and four hundred Thebans were detained as hostages for the more than doubtful faith

* As his resentment was directed against the Athenians alone, he was in hopes that the other states might be prevailed on to relinquish the confederacy : as an inducement so to do, he held out to them many allurements, but in vain.

† Xerx'es beheld these reiterated attacks from a lofty eminence, and frequently started in wild emotion from his throne, on witnessing the havoc made among his troops by the little band of heroes whom he had arrogantly commanded to be brought alive into his presence.

‡ Trachin'ia was a district in Thessaly.

§ It was always the unhappy fate of Greece to suffer more from the treachery of false friends than from the power of open enemies.

of their countrymen. When the rest had retired, Leonidas exhorted his followers, in the most cheerful manner, to prepare for death. "Come, my fellow-soldiers," says he, "let us dine cheerfully here, for to-night we shall sup with Pluto." 9. His men, upon hearing his determined purpose, set up a loud shout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and resolved every man to sell his life as dearly as he could. 10. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the most glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy's camp, as the darkness, by concealing the smallness of their numbers, would fill the Persians with greater consternation. 11. Thus resolved, they made directly to the Persian tents, and in the silence of night had almost penetrated to the royal pavilion, with hopes of surprising the king.* The obscurity added to the horror of the scene; and the Persians, incapable of distinguishing friend from foe, fell furiously upon each other, and rather assisted than opposed the Greeks. 12. Thus success seemed likely to crown their bold but rash enterprise, had not the morning dawn discovered the smallness of their numbers. They retreated back to the straits, and four times repulsed their Persian pursuers; but while the victory was as yet doubtful, the Persian detachment, which had been intrusted to the guidance of Epialtes, was seen descending from the hills in their rear. Nothing now remained for the defenders of the straits but to sell their lives as dearly as possible; abandoning therefore their outer lines of defence, they retreated behind the Phocian wall, and there forming themselves into a square, patiently awaited the approach of their enemies. The Thebans took advantage of this opportunity to put in practice their meditated treachery; they advanced with reversed arms to surrender themselves to the Persians, but their object being mistaken, they were received as enemies, and very few of them purchased a miserable life by their disgraceful desertion. 13. Mean time, the last stronghold of the Greeks was assailed on every side, and yet not a man swerved from his post. The wall was at length tumbled down—the spears of the Greeks were blunted and shattered in the protracted contest—Leonidas, their leader, had fallen in the attack on the Persian camp, but his body, placed in

* It may at first seem surprising that they should be able to penetrate the Persian camp; but as the barbarians had neither intrenchments, advanced guards, nor a watch-word, few obstacles were presented to their design.

the centre of the diminished band was the rallying point of his exhausted soldiers. They sunk at last beneath a mountain of darts, which formed the proudest testimony of their valour, and their most suitable monument. 14. Of all the band, two only escaped, whose names were Aristode'mus and Pan'ités.* They were treated, in consequence, with such contempt on their return to Spar'ta, that Pan'ités killed himself in despair; but Aristode'mus bore it with fortitude, and recovered his lost honour by his gallant behaviour at the battle of Plataë'a. 15. The loss of the Persians on this occasion is supposed to have amounted to twenty thousand men, among whom were two of the king's brothers.†

16. The same day on which the battle of Thermop'ylæ was fought, there was a naval engagement between the fleets of Greece and Persia, off the cape of Artemis'ium in Eubœ'a, in which the former took or sunk thirty of the enemy's ships, and forced a hundred and seventy of them to sea, where, by stress of weather, they were all soon after either sunk or stranded.‡

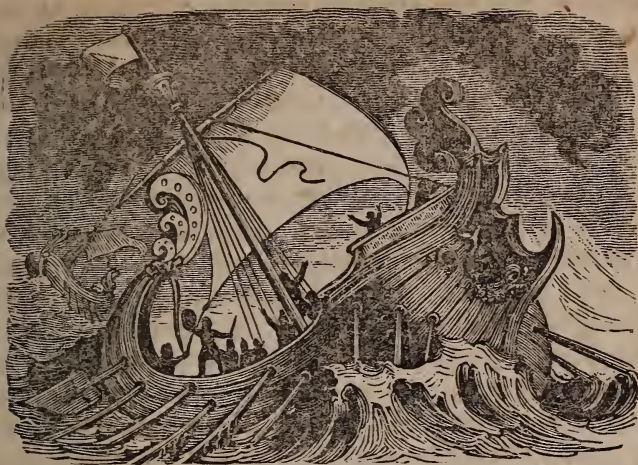
17. Xerx'es, however, having now passed the straits, found nothing capable of opposing his progress in the open country; he therefore directed his march towards Athens, on which he was determined to take signal vengeance. 18. Themis'tocles, seeing the impossibility of defending this place, used all his eloquence and address in persuading his countrymen to abandon it for the present; and this he was at last able, though with no little difficulty, to effect. A decree was therefore passed, by which it was ordained, that Athens for a while should be given up in trust to the gods, and that all the inhabitants, whether in freedom or slavery, should go on board the fleet. 19. The young and adventurous set sail for the neighbouring island of Salamis; the old, the women, and children, took shelter at Trœze'ne,§

* These men were accidentally absent.

† To perpetuate the memory of this wonderful exertion of valour, two monuments were erected. The inscription on one commemorated the brave resistance made by a handful of Greeks against millions of Persians. The other was peculiar to the Spartans, and bore these words: "Go, stranger, and tell the Lacedæmonians, that we fell here in obedience to their divine laws."

‡ Previous to the attack of the Greeks, the Persian fleet had suffered dreadfully in a storm, in which four hundred galleys, and a great number of storeships and transports, were dashed in pieces or sunk.

§ Now Trizina, a city of Argolis, in European Turkey, not far from Corinth.



The remnant of Xerxes' fleet lost at sea.

the inhabitants of which generously offered them an asylum. 20. But in this general desertion of the city, that which raised the compassion of all was, the great number of old men they were obliged to leave in the place, on account of their age and infirmities. Many also voluntarily remained behind, believing that the citadel, which they had fortified with wooden walls, was what the oracle pointed out for general safety.* 21. To heighten this scene of distress, the matrons were seen clinging with fond affection to the places where they had so long resided; the women filled the streets with lamentations; and even the poor domestic animals seemed to take a part in the general concern. It was impossible to see those poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going on shipboard, without being strongly affected. 22. Amongst these, the faithfulness of a particular dog is recorded, who jumped into the sea, and continued swimming after the vessel which contained his master, till he landed at Sal'amis, and died the moment after upon the shore.†

* Themistocles, seeing little hope of defending the city against the innumerable host of Xerxes, sent to consult the oracle of Apollo, at Delphos. The answer he received was, "Athens can be saved only by wooden walls." This he interpreted to mean ships, and acted accordingly.

† In their haste to embark, the Athenians left the greatest part of their furniture and other valuables behind, which perished in the conflagration of the city. By this generous sacrifice, however, they preserved that liberty which was dearer to them than life.

23. The few inhabitants that remained behind retired into the citadel, where, literally interpreting the oracle, they fortified it as well as they could, and patiently awaited the approach of the invader. Nor was it long before they saw him arrive at their gates, and summon them to surrender. This, however, they refused to do, or even to listen to any terms he proposed to them. The place was therefore taken by assault; all who were found in it were put to the sword, and the citadel reduced to ashes.

24. While one division of the Persian army was marching through Bœotia on Athens, a smaller body had been sent to plunder the sacred treasury at Delphi. The inhabitants, alarmed by their numbers, consulted the oracle, and were told that "the arms of Apollo were sufficient for the defence of his shrine." Encouraged by this response, they posted themselves in the defiles of mount Parnassus, having first sent their women and children to a place of safety. 25. The Persians, who had often heard of the fame of Delphi, could scarcely control their superstitious fears as they approached the sacred sanctuary; and a fearful storm which arose as they passed through a narrow defile threw them into remeditless consternation. 26. The Delphians showered rocks and trunks of trees from the mountain-tops; their fierce shouts mingling with the noise of the storm, and repeated by a thousand echoes, completed the terror of the invaders: they hasted to fly from the valley in which they were entangled, but confusion impeded their flight. The Delphians charged the disordered multitudes, and slew them by thousands without meeting any resistance. The miserable remnant that escaped fled to join the other division at Athens, spreading everywhere the news of the divine vengeance, by which they supposed that their impious attempt was punished.

27. But though the confederates had been thus obliged to abandon Athens to the fury of the enemy, they were by no means disposed to let them overrun the whole country. They took possession of Peloponnessus, built a wall across the isthmus that joined it to the continent, and committed the defence of that important post to Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas. In adopting this measure they were unanimous, as being the most prudent that could be embraced: but this was not the case with regard to the operations of the fleet.

Eurybiades was for bringing it into the neighbourhood of

the isthmus, so that the sea forces might act in conjunction. Themis'tocles was of quite a different opinion, and maintained that it would be the height of folly to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Sal'amis, where they were now stationed. They were now, he said, in possession of the narrow seas, where the number of the enemy's ships could never avail them; that the only hope left the Athe'nians was their fleet, which must not capriciously be given up to the enemy. 28. Eurybi'ades, who considered himself as glanced at by this speech, could not contain his resentment, but lifted up his cane in a menacing manner. "Strike," cried the Athe'nian, "strike, but hear me." His moderation and his reasoning prevailed; and it was therefore resolved to await the enemy's fleet at Sal'amis. 29. Fearful, however, that the confederates might change their mind, Themis'tocles had recourse to one of those stratagems which mark superior genius. He contrived to have it privately intimated to Xerx'es, that the confederates were now assembled at Sal'amis, preparing for flight, and that it would be an easy matter to attack and destroy them. 30. The artifice succeeded. Xerx'es gave orders to his fleet to block up Sal'amis by night, in order to prevent an escape that would have frustrated his hopes of vengeance.

31. Aristei'des, who commanded a small body of troops at Ægi'na,* no sooner heard of the apparently dangerous situation of Themis'tocles, than, ignorant of the real cause of all these manœuvres, and actually thinking him in danger, he ventured in a small boat by night through the whole fleet of the enemy. 32. Upon landing, he repaired to the tent of Themis'tocles, and addressed him in the following manner: "If we are wise, Themis'tocles, we shall henceforth lay aside all those frivolous and puerile dissensions which have hitherto divided us. One strife, and a noble one it is, now remains for us, which of us shall be most serviceable to our country. It is yours to command as a general; it is mine to obey as a subject; and happy shall I be if my advice can any way contribute to yours and my country's glory." He then informed him of the fleet's real situation, and warmly exhorted him to give battle without delay. 33. Themis'tocles felt all that gratitude which so generous and disinterested a conduct deserved; and eager to make a proper return, he immediately let him into all his schemes and projects, particularly this last, of suffering

* A small island near Athens.

himself to be blocked up. After this they exerted their joint influence with the other commanders to persuade them to engage; and accordingly both fleets prepared for battle.

34. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty ships; that of the Persians was much more numerous.* But whatever advantage they had in numbers and the size of their vessels, they fell infinitely short of the Greeks in naval skill, and in their acquaintance with the seas where they fought. 35. But it was chiefly on the superior abilities of their commanders that the Greeks placed their hopes of success. Eurybi'ades had nominally the command of the fleet, but Themis'tocles directed all its operations. He, knowing that a periodical wind, which would be favourable, would soon set in, delayed the attack till that time; and this had no sooner arisen than the signal was given for battle, and the Grecian fleet sailed forward in exact order.

36. As the Persians now fought under the eye of their sovereign, who beheld the action from a neighbouring promontory, they exerted themselves for some time with great spirit; but their courage abated when they came to a closer engagement. 37. The numerous disadvantages of circumstances and situation then began to appear. The wind blew directly in their faces; the height and heaviness of their vessels rendered them unwieldy and almost useless; and even the number of their ships only served to embarrass and perplex them in that narrow sea. 38. The Io'nians, mindful of their Hellenic descent, were far from being anxious for a victory that would have enslaved the land of their fathers; in the very first onset many of them fled, while others deserted to the Greeks. The Phœni'cian galleys being thus disordered, and their flanks exposed, dashed against each other, and crowded into a confused mass, deprived of all power of action. The Athenians, with consummate skill, increased the confusion by forcing fresh hostile ships into the narrow space in which the Phœnicians were entangled. And thus, as the poet Æs'chylus, who personally shared in the battle, declares, the whole Persian fleet "was caught and destroyed like fish in a net."

39. In the general consternation which this occasioned, Artemis'ia, queen of Halicarnass'us,† who had come to the

* It consisted of more than a thousand vessels.

† Now Nesi, a city of Caria, in Asia Minor. Here was the famous mausoleum, erected by Artemis'ia, and accounted one of the seven wonders of the world.



Battle of Salamis.

assistance of Xerx'es with five ships, exerted herself with so much spirit, that the monarch was heard to say, his soldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like soldiers. Her glory, however, is sullied by the unjustifiable means which she made use of to escape from the fatal strait. The Athenian captain Amei'nias, the brother of the poet Æschylus, had distinguished himself above all his compeers, by superior skill in the management of his vessel, and by the havoc which he made in the hostile fleet. As he bore down against the galley of Artemis'ia, the queen, aware that resistance would be useless, ordered her pilot to run her ship against the galley of a Lycian prince, with whom she had been at variance. The Lycian vessel was run down, and all on board perished; Amei'nias, conjecturing from this that the queen's ship was one of those that had deserted to the Greeks, gave over the pursuit, and Artemis'ia was enabled to continue her flight in safety. 40. Nothing, however, could repair the disorder that had now taken place in the Persian fleet. They fled on all sides; some of them were sunk, and more taken; above two hundred were burnt, and all the rest entirely dispersed.

41. Such was the issue of the battle of Sal'amis, in which the Persians received a more severe blow than any they had hitherto experienced from Greece. 42. Themis'tocles is said to have been so elated with this victory, that he proposed breaking down the bridge over the Hel'lespont, and thus cutting off the retreat of the enemy; but from this he was dissuaded by Aristei'des, who represented the danger of reducing so powerful an army to despair.



Flight of Xerxes.

43. Xerx'es, however, seems to have been so apprehensive of this step being taken, that after leaving about three hundred thousand of his best troops behind him under Mardo'nius, not so much with a view of conquering Greece as in order to prevent a pursuit, he hastened back with the rest to the Hel'lespont, where, finding the bridge broken down with the violence of the waves, he was obliged to pass over in a small boat; and this manner of leaving Europe, when compared with his ostentatious entry, rendered his disgrace the more poignant and afflicting.

Questions for Examination.

1. What expectation did Xerxes entertain?
2. Was not this expectation disappointed?
3. What steps did he take in consequence?
4. What reply was given to his summons?
5. What was the consequence of these sarcasms?
6. What occasioned the loss of this post?
7. What measures did Leonidas adopt in this emergency?
8. How did he encourage his little troop?
9. How were his exhortations received?
10. What time was chosen for this purpose?
11. How did they commence the attack?
12. Were they successful?
13. What was the fate of Leonidas?
14. Did any escape the carnage?
15. What was the loss of the Persians?
16. What other memorable engagement happened on that day?

17. Did Xerxes meet with farther opposition ?
18. Was Athens defended ?
19. Whither did they repair ?
20. What distressing circumstances attended this desertion of the city ?
21. What added to the distress ?
22. What particular instance of this is recorded ?
23. What became of those that remained behind ?
24. Against what place was a detachment of the Persians sent ?
25. Why were the Persians daunted in this expedition ?
26. How was Delphi saved ?
27. What dispute arose between the Greek naval commanders ?
28. Which opinion prevailed ?
29. By what stratagem did Themistocles prevent a change of measures ?
30. Did this artifice succeed ?
31. How did Aristeides act on this occasion ?
32. What followed ?
33. How did Themistocles receive this advice ?
34. What were the respective forces of the opposed parties ?
35. On what did the Greeks principally rely ?
36. How did the Persians behave in this engagement ?
37. What disadvantages did they labour under ?
38. What events led to the victory being obtained by the Greeks ?
39. What female distinguished herself in this engagement ?
40. Did her example restore the battle ?
41. Was the event of this battle important ?
42. What measure was proposed in consequence ?
43. What became of Xerxes after his defeat ?

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE RETREAT OF XERXES OUT OF GREECE TO THE BATTLE OF MYCALE.

A.M. 3524.

1. **NOTHING** could exceed the joy of the Greeks upon the victory they had obtained at Sal'amis. It was customary after a battle for the commanding officers to declare who had distinguished themselves most, by giving in the names of such as merited the first and second rewards. On this occasion, each officer concerned adjudged the first rank to himself, but all allowed the second to Themis'tocles, which was, in fact, allowing him a tacit superiority. This was

farther confirmed by the Lacedæmo'nians, who carried him in triumph to Sparta; and having adjudged the reward of valour to their own countryman, Eurybi'ades, adjudged that of wisdom to Themis'tocles. 2. They crowned him with olive, presented him with a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horse to the confines of their state. 3. But there was a homage paid to him that flattered his pride yet more: when he appeared at the Olym'pic games, before all the states of Greece assembled, the spectators received him with uncommon acclamations. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour; nobody regarded either the games or combatants; Themis'tocles was the only object worthy their attention. Struck with such flattering honours, he could not help exclaiming, that he that day reaped the fruits of all his labours.

4. Mardo'nus, having passed the winter in Thessaly, led his forces in the spring into the province of Bœo'tia, and thence sent Alexan'der, king of Macedo'nia, with very tempting proposals to the Athe'nians, hoping by that means to detach them from the general interests of Greece.* 5. He offered to rebuild their city, to present them with a considerable sum of money, to allow them to enjoy their laws and liberties, and to bestow upon them the government of all Greece. 6. The Spartans were afraid that the Athe'nians might be prevailed on to accept these proposals; they therefore sent ambassadors to Athens, in order to dissuade them from so base a conduct.

7. The Athenians rejected the tempting offer of Mardo'nus, and severely censured the Spartans for supposing that to secure their private interest they would desert the general cause of Greece; at the same time they entreated their allies to join them as speedily as possible, in order to repel a second invasion of Attica, which Mardo'nus, irritated at the Athenian obstinacy, would probably attempt.

8. This conjecture was justified by the event. In a few

* The Thebans, who had perfidiously deserted the common cause, added to their baseness by giving Mardo'nus advice, which, had he followed, would more effectually have reduced Greece under his power than all the force of his arms. "You have only," said they, "to bribe the leading men in the several republics, and you will divide each state into factions; engage them in a civil war; and when exhausted by mutual hostilities, they will readily submit to your demands." Instead of following this detestable, though prudent advice, Mardo'nus proceeded as is related in the text.

weeks Mardo'nius, having broken up from his winter-quarters in Thessaly, marched with all his forces directly towards Attica, where there was neither fortress nor army capable of making any resistance. Messenger after messenger was sent to claim the promised aid of Sparta, but all in vain; that state, with the selfishness which characterizes and disgraces its entire history, neglected every summons. They had completed the fortification of the Corinthian isthmus, and having thus provided, as they believed, for the security of the Peloponne'sus, they abandoned northern Greece to the vengeance of the Persians.

9. Deserted a second time by the confederates, the Athenians again retired to Salamis, and witnessed from its shores the flames that consumed their houses and temples. Every thing that had been spared in the first invasion was destroyed in the second; but still the determination of the Athenians was not changed. They even stoned Ly'ciadas, a senator, to death, for daring to propose a surrender, and his wife and children met with the same fate from the women.

10. The deputies from Platæ'a and Mega'ra united with the ambassadors from Athens in reproaching the Spartans for their disgraceful abandonment of the common cause. The Spartans for some time turned a deaf ear to their complaints, until at length the Athenians hinted the probability of their being compelled to accept the offers of Mardo'nius, and pointed out to the Spartans how vain would be the wall across the isthmus, when the Persian fleet, united with that of Athens, would triumphantly sweep the seas, and harass the coast of the Peloponne'sus. They immediately resolved to take the field, the different southern states were summoned to send in their contingents, and Pausa'nias, one of the Lacedæmonian kings, was appointed to the command of the combined forces.

11. The Grecian army was now assembled to the number of seventy thousand men. Of these five thousand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thousand Helots. The Athenians amounted to eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the rest. With this army the Greeks resolved to oppose Mardo'nius, though at the head of no less than three hundred thousand men. 12. That general, fearing to be attacked in the hilly country of Attica, where he could not avail himself of his great superiority of numbers, had lately returned into Bœo'tia, and encamped his troops on the banks of the river Æso'pus. 13. Thither he

was pursued by the Grecians; but as neither side could begin the attack without encountering great disadvantage, the two armies continued in sight of each other for the space of ten days, both equally eager for battle, and yet both afraid to strike the first blow.

14. It was during this interval that a mutiny had nearly arisen in the Grecian army about the post of honour. All parties allowed the Spartans the command of the right wing; but the Tegæans alleged that they were better entitled by their past services to the command of the left than the Athe'nians, who now occupied it. 15. This dissension might have produced very fatal effects, had it not been for the moderation and magnanimity of Aristei'des, who commanded the Athe'nians, and who addressed himself to the Spartans and the rest of the confederates in the following manner:—"It is not now a time, my friends, to dispute about the merits of past services; for all boasting is vain in the day of danger. Let it be the brave man's pride to own, that it is not the post or station which gives courage, or which can take it away. I head the Athe'nians; whatever post you shall assign us we will maintain it, and will endeavour to make our station, wherever we are placed, the post of true honour and military glory. We are come hither not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boast of our ancestors, but to imitate them. This battle will distinguish the merit of each city; and the lowest sentinel will share with his commander the honour of the day." 16. This speech determined the council of war in favour of the Athe'nians, who thereupon were allowed to maintain their former station.

17. Meanwhile the Grecians, beginning to be straitened for want of water, resolved to retreat to a place where they might be more plentifully supplied with that necessary article. 18. As their removal was in the night, much disorder ensued; and in the morning, Mardo'nius, construing their retreat into a flight, immediately pursued them, and coming up with them near the little city of Plataë'a,* attacked them with great impetuosity. 19. His ardour, however, was soon checked by the Spartans, who brought up the rear of the Grecian army, and who, throwing themselves into a phalanx, stood impenetrable and immovable against all the assaults of the enemy. At the same time, the Athe'nians,

* A city of Bœotia, near Mount Cithæron.

being informed of the attack, quickly returned, and, after defeating a body of Greeks in Persian pay, came to the assistance of the Spartans, just as these last had completed the overthrow of the enemy. For Mardo'nius, enraged at seeing his men give way, rushed into the thickest of the ranks in order to restore the battle, and was killed by Aimnes'tus, a Spartan. 20. Upon this, the whole army betook themselves to flight. Artaba'zus, with a body of forty thousand men, fled towards the Hel'lespont: the rest retreated to their camp, and there endeavoured to defend themselves with wooden ramparts; but these being quickly broken down, the confederates rushed in upon them with irresistible fury, and, eager to rid the country of such terrible invaders, sternly refused them quarter, putting upwards of a hundred thousand of them to the sword. 21. Thus ended the invasion of Greece by the Persians; nor ever after was an army from Persia seen to cross the Hel'lespont. We have already observed that Aristei'des commanded the Athenians in this important action; the Spartans were headed by Cleom'brotus; and Pausa'nias, a Lacedæmonian, was the commander-in-chief.

22. The battle was no sooner over, than the Greeks, to testify their gratitude to heaven, caused a statue of Ju'piter to be made at the public expense, and placed in his temple at Olympia.* On the right side of the pedestal were engraved the names of the several nations of Greece that were present in the engagement. The Spartans had the first place, the Athe'nians the second, and the rest succeeded in order.†

23. The successes of the Greeks were as rapid as they were important. On the very evening of the day on which the victory at Plata'ea was won, another, equally glorious, was obtained at Myca'le, on the coast of Io'nia.

24. After the defeat of Sal'amis, the remains of the Per-

* Now Longinico, a city of Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated.

† No sooner had the rites of sepulture been afforded to the slain, trophies erected on the field of battle, and grateful offerings presented to the gods, than it was unanimously resolved to chastise the perfidious Thebans, who had leagued with the enemies of liberty to enslave their country. Accordingly the confederate forces marched against that city, resolved to raze it to the ground; but their anger was in some measure appeased by the citizens delivering up the traitors who had espoused the Persian cause. These were conveyed to Corinth, and sacrificed to the manes of those who had fallen in the glorious contest.

sian fleet retired to Sa'mos.* but the Greeks lost no time in pursuing them. The confederates on this occasion were headed by Leotych'ides, the Spartan, and Xanthip'pus, the Athe'nian. 25. The Persians were no sooner informed of their approach, than, conscious of their own inferiority by sea, they drew up their ships upon dry land at My'cale, and fortified them with a wall and deep trench, while they at the same time protected them with an army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Tigr'a'nes. 26. But nothing could secure them from the fury of the Grecians, who, immediately coming on shore, and dividing themselves into two bodies, the Athe'nians and Corin'thians advanced directly on the plain, while the Lacedæmo'nians fetched a compass over hills and precipices, in order to take possession of a rising ground. 27. But before these last arrived, the former had entirely put the enemy to flight, and, on being joined by the Spartans, soon forced their way through the Persian ramparts, and set all their ships on fire; so that nothing could be more complete than the victory now obtained. Tigr'a'nes, the Persian general, with forty thousand of his men, lay dead on the field of battle; the fleet was destroyed; and of the great army which Xerx'es brought into Europe, scarcely a single man remained to carry back the news of its defeat.

Questions for Examination.

1. What followed the victory of Salamis, and to whom were the greatest honours paid?
2. What marks of distinction did they bestow on him?
3. What was the most flattering homage he received?
4. What steps did Mardonius take?
5. What were those offers?
6. Was this pleasing to the allies?
7. What reply was made to the proposal?
8. What was the consequence of this rejection?
9. Did misfortune incline the Athenians to listen to terms?
10. What was the conduct of the Spartans?
11. What was the respective strength of the armies?
12. Whither did Mardonius retire?
13. Did the Grecians follow him?
14. What happened in this interval?
15. Who prevented the further progress of this misunderstanding?
16. What was the consequence of this speech?
17. What measures did the Grecians adopt?

18. What was the consequence ?
19. Was the attack successful ?
20. Did his death decide the fortune of the day ?
21. What was the result of this victory ?
22. How did the Greeks evince their gratitude to heaven for their success ?
23. Were not the Greeks victorious in another quarter ?
24. Relate the particulars.
25. By what means did the Persians attempt to defend themselves ?
26. Did these precautions avail them ?
27. What was the result of this attack ?

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE VICTORY OF MYCALE TO THE PEACE CONCLUDED
BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND PERSIANS.

SECTION I.

1. No sooner were the Greeks freed from the { B.C.
apprehensions of a foreign foe, than they began to } 478.
entertain jealousies of each other ; and the first symptoms
of this dangerous spirit appeared in a misunderstanding that
took place between the Athe'nians and Spartans. 2. The
former, with their families, being returned to their own
country, began to rebuild the city : and as its late state of
weakness had rendered it so easy a prey to the Persians,
they now formed a plan for strengthening and extending the
walls, and giving it for the future a greater degree of secu-
rity. 3. This excited the jealousy of the Lacedæmo'nians,
who could not bear to see any of the other states of Greece
upon an equal footing with themselves. They therefore
sent ambassadors to dissuade the Athe'nians from this
undertaking : but being ashamed to avow their real motive,
they alleged the great detriment which these fortifications
would prove to the general interests of Greece, if ever they
should fall into the hands of the enemy. 4. Themis'tocles,
who then guided the councils of Athens, at once saw through
their design, and resolved to meet their duplicity with equal
dissimulation. He therefore told them that the Athe'nians
would soon send an embassy to Sparta, and fully satisfy all
their scruples : and having procured himself to be chosen
for this purpose, he by studied delays kept the Spartans in

suspense until the works were completely finished.* 5. He then boldly threw off the mask, and declared that Athens was now in a condition to defend herself against any enemy, either foreign or domestic; that what she had done was perfectly consistent with the law of nations and the common interests of Greece; and added, that if any violence were offered to his person, the Athe'nians would retaliate upon the Spartan ambassadors who were now in their hands. 6. In consequence of this spirited conduct, the ambassadors on both sides were suffered quietly to depart; and Themis'tocles, upon his arrival in Athens, was received as if he had been returning from a triumph.

7. The confederates, being thus left at liberty to turn their arms against their foreign foes, instead of drawing their swords against one another, fitted out a powerful fleet. Pausa'nias commanded the Spartans; the Athe'nians were conducted by Aristei'des, and Ci'mon the son of Milti'ades. They first directed their course to the isle of Cy'prus,† where they set all the cities free; but from some unknown cause, the authority of the Persians was soon re-established in that island. Then, steering towards the Hel'lespont, they attacked the city of Byzan'tium,‡ of which they made themselves masters; and, besides the vast quantity of plunder which they found in it, took a great number of prisoners, many of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia. 8. But whatever the Greeks gained upon this occasion in fame and authority, they lost in the purity and simplicity of their manners. The deluge of wealth poured in upon them from this quarter naturally tended to corrupt their minds; and from this time forward, neither the magistrates nor the people valued themselves, as formerly, on their personal merit, but merely on account of their riches and possessions. The Athe'nians, being a polite people, bore this change for some time with tolerable moderation; but the contagion immediately broke out among the Spartans with all its native virulence. 9. It seems to have inspired Pausa'nias, who was naturally of a haughty and imperious temper, and who had forfeited the good opinion

* To accomplish this important undertaking, every person, without distinction, was employed in the work; women, children, strangers, and slaves were not exempt from their share of the labour; nor was it discontinued, night or day, till it was completely finished.

† An island in the Mediterranean.

‡ Now Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish empire.

not only of the neighbouring states, but also of his own subjects, with the ambitious hopes of raising himself to a still higher rank.* He offered to deliver up Sparta, and even all Greece, to Xerx'es, provided that prince would give him his daughter in marriage. 10. How long this conspiracy was carried on is uncertain: Pausa'nias was twice tried, and twice acquitted for want of sufficient evidence against him. The wicked means which he took to conceal his guilt at length became the cause of his detection. A slave whom he had employed to convey a letter to one of the Persian satraps, remembering that no former messengers had returned, opened the despatch, and found that it contained orders to put him to death, as the best means of ensuring his secrecy. He conveyed the letter without delay to the Spartan magistrates, who immediately made every preparation for completing the proofs of the guilt of Pausa'nias previous to his arrest. 11. But just as the Eph'ori were upon the point of seizing him, he took refuge { B.C. in the temple of Miner'va, where, the sanctity of } 475. the place preventing his being dragged forth, the people blocked up the entry with large stones, and tearing off the roof, left him to die of cold and hunger.† Thus perished the man who had led on the troops of Greece to victory in the battle of Plata'æ.

12. The fate of Pausa'nias soon after involved that of Themis'tocles, who had some time before been banished, and lived in great esteem at Ar'gos.‡ 13. The occasion of his banishment was this: he had built near his house a temple in honour of Dian'a, with this inscription, "To Dian'a, the goddess of good counsel;" thereby insinuating the benefit his counsels had been of to his country, and the little gratitude his fellow-citizens had shown in rewarding them. 14. He was now accused, not only of having been privy to the designs of Pausa'nias, without revealing them to the state—which part of the charge, indeed, seems to have been well founded—but likewise of having approved and favoured

* One proof of his arrogance was, his causing to be engraved on the golden tripod presented at Delphi by the confederate states of Greece, the following inscription: "Pausanias, general of the Greeks, having destroyed the Persian army, dedicated this memorial to Apollo." This was afterwards erased, and a new inscription engraved by order of the Spartan government.

† It is said that the first stone was placed by his own mother.

‡ A city in the Morea, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Argos.

those designs; a crime of which it appears he was altogether guiltless. 15. The Spartans, however, who had always been his enemies, now declared themselves his accusers before the assembly of the people of Athens: and those of his countrymen who had formerly either dreaded his power or envied his popularity, joined in the general charge against him. 16. By these means the people were wrought up to such a degree of rage, that they clamoured for his death with great vehemence; and persons were actually sent to seize and bring him before the general council of Greece. 17. Fortunately, however, he had notice of their design, and saved himself by a precipitate flight. He first took refuge in the island of Corcy'ra.* Thence he repaired to the court of Adme'tus, king of the Molos'sians;† but that prince not being able to afford him any long or certain protection, he at last went over to Sardis, where, throwing himself prostrate before the Persian monarch,‡ he boldly declared his name, his country, and his misfortunes.

18. "I have done," cried he, "my ungrateful country services more than once; and I am now come to offer those services to you. My life is in your hands; you may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance. By the former you will preserve a faithful suppliant; by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of Greece." 19. The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his eloquence and intrepidity; but he soon gave loose to his joy for the event. 20. He told his courtiers that he considered the arrival of Themis'tocles as a very happy incident; and wished that his enemies would always pursue the same destructive policy of banishing from among them the good and wise.

21. He gave him the revenues of three cities for his support,§ and maintained him in the utmost affluence and splendour.|| It is said, that such was his interest at the Persian court, and so great was the estimation in which he was held by all ranks of the people, that one day at table

* Now Corfu, in the Mediterranean.

† A people of Molos'sia, now Pundo'sia, in Epi'rus.

‡ Artaxerxes Longimanus, so called from the extreme length of his hands.

§ Magne'sia, Lamp'sachus, and My'us, in Asia Minor.

|| So great was the joy of Artaxerx'es on seeing Themis'tocles at his court, that he could not help repeatedly exclaiming, even in his sleep, "I have got Themis'tocles the Athenian."



Themistocles taking refuge with the king of Persia.

he observed to his wife and children, who sat near him, "Children, we should certainly have been ruined, if we had not formerly been undone."

Questions for Examination.

1. Did these victories promote harmony among the Greeks?
2. What gave rise to this spirit?
3. What effect had this on the Lacedæmonians?
4. Did the Athenians hearken to their persuasions?
5. What conduct did Themistocles adopt?
6. What was the consequence of this boldness?
7. What farther measures were adopted?
8. What were the consequences of this success?
9. Who among the Spartans felt the influence of prosperity most?
10. Did Pausanias carry on his treason with impunity?
11. What was his fate?
12. Was any one else involved in his ruin?
13. What occasioned the banishment of Themistocles?
14. Of what was he now accused?
15. By whom was he accused?
16. What was the consequence?
17. Did they accomplish their purpose?
18. How did Themistocles address the Persian?
19. What reception did he experience?
20. How did he express himself on the occasion?
21. In what way did he farther evince his satisfaction?

SECTION II.

SECOND PERSIAN WAR.

1. BUT nothing could erase from the breast of Themis'tocles the love he entertained for his country. Indeed the spirit of patriotism appears to have prevailed among the Greeks in a higher degree than among any other people. 2. This was no doubt owing to the violent struggles they had been obliged to make in defence of their country. And perhaps it will be found, that the value we set upon any thing is always in proportion to the pains we have taken in acquiring or preserving it. 3. When Artaxerx'es, therefore, proposed fitting out an expedition against Athens, and intrusting the command of it to Themis'tocles, that patriot, rather than carry arms against the place of his nativity, put an end to his own life by poison.

4. In the mean time, Aristei'des, instead of exciting the jealousy of his countrymen by ambitious and interested views, continued every day to acquire a larger share of their esteem and veneration by his integrity and love of justice. 5. So great indeed was his character in this respect, that when it was deliberated among the states of Greece who was the most proper person to be intrusted with the care of the public treasure, all eyes were fixed upon him as the most upright man to be found in the country; and his discharge of this important office, to which he was immediately appointed, served to confirm the high opinion the world already entertained of him. 6. His merit in this particular was so much the greater, as he himself was extremely poor; though it appears that he was voluntarily so, as the following incident will evince. 7. Callias, an intimate friend and relation of his, being summoned before the judges for some offence, one of the chief objections urged against him was, that while he rolled in affluence and luxury, he suffered his friend and relation, Aristei'des, to remain in poverty and want. But Callias appealing to Aristei'des himself, it appeared that he had generously offered to share his fortune with him, which the other had absolutely refused to accept; asserting, that he only might be said to want, who permitted his appetites to transgress the bounds of his income; while

he who could be satisfied with a little, rendered himself like the gods, who want for nothing.

8. In this manner he lived, just in his public, and independent in his private capacity, universally esteemed and beloved by all who knew him. History does not acquaint us with the time or place of his death; but it bears the most glorious testimony to his character in telling us that he who had had the absolute disposal of the public treasures died poor. 9. It is even asserted that he did not leave money enough behind him to defray the expense of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were portioned, and his son subsisted, at the expense of the public; and some of his grandchildren were supported by a pension equal to that bestowed upon the victors at the Olym'pic games.

10. The first man who began to make a figure at Athens, after the death of Themis'tocles and Aristei'des, was Cimon, the son of Milti'ades. 11. In his earlier years he had led a very dissolute life: but Aristei'des perceiving in him, amidst all his dissipation, the seeds of many great and good qualities, advised him to change his conduct, and to raise his mind from the pursuit of low and ignoble pleasures, to the ambition of directing the affairs of the state. 12. He did so, and in a little time became equal to his father in courage, to Themis'tocles in sagacity, and not much inferior to his instructor himself in integrity. 12. His first military operations were directed against the coast of Thrace, whose conquest was greatly facilitated by the previous capture of Byzantium. The only places that made an obstinate resistance were Amphip'olis and Ei'on, both situated on the river Stry'mon. Amphipolis was captured and given to an Athenian colony; but Bo'ges, the governor of Eion, sooner than surrender, persuaded the garrison to sacrifice their wives and children, and to cast themselves and their property into a funeral pile, where he and they madly perished in the flames.

14. With this single act of despair terminated the { B. c.
dominion of the Persians in Europe, and the victors } 470.
next directed their course to Asia, eager to restore liberty to the Greek colonies there. Artaxerxes, the third son of the invader of Greece, was too much occupied in quelling domestic sedition, to make any effectual resistance to this invasion. Ca'ria and Ly'cia were subdued after a slight resistance, and the victorious army prepared for the invasion

of Pam'phylia. Artaxerxes, having at length subdued all the competitors for his throne, directed his attention to the protection of his empire. A powerful army was assembled on the banks of the Eurym'edon, and a fleet of four hundred sail, chiefly collected from Cili'cia and Phœnicia, was assembled at the mouth of the same river.

15. The hostile fleets met off the coast of Cy'prus, and the Persians, confident in their superior numbers, were eager to engage, and the Greeks, elated by former victories, met them with equal vigour. After a fierce engagement, the Persians were totally defeated; many of their ships were sunk; a hundred were taken, and the remainder fled to the harbours of Cyprus, whither they were pursued by the victors. The terrified crews, being closely pressed, abandoned their vessels, and thus in one day the navy of Greece was strengthened by the capture of nearly three hundred ships.

16. The number of prisoners exceeded twenty thousand. This circumstance, and the brief duration of the contest, suggested to the active mind of Ci'mon a stratagem which was put in execution on the evening of the same day. He stripped the prisoners of their robes, and, clothing his best soldiers in their attire, proceeded in the Persian galleys to the river Eurym'edon, where the news of the late battle had not yet arrived. The unsuspecting Persians saw them land without distrust, and prepared to receive them as their long-expected companions. But they were soon fatally undeceived; on a concerted signal the Greeks, drawing their swords, fell with resistless fury on their astonished enemies; unarmed, surprised, and broken, the Persians fell or fled on every side; and before night had quite closed in, the army of Artaxerxes had shared the same fate as his navy had experienced earlier in the day.

17. The plunder of the Persian camp amounted to an immense sum; one-tenth was dedicated to Apollo, and a large proportion was given to Cimon, which he laid out in beautifying and adorning his native city. The war continued twenty-one years longer, but was for the most part confined to predatory expeditions. The Athenians, under the guidance of Per'icles, had the art to persuade the maritime confederates to pay an annual sum of money for the maintenance of the fleet. This contribution, at first voluntary, was soon converted into a tax, of which the Athenians claimed the sole management, and which they applied to serve their own interests.

18. The conquest of the island of Cyprus, so remarkable for the fertility of its soil and its excellent commercial situation, next engaged the attention of the Athenians. But they were diverted from this object by their desire to assist the Egyptians, who had thrown off the Persian yoke, and petitioned for the aid of the republic, in maintaining their independence. 19. The expedition destined against Cyprus was ordered to sail to Egypt; and the insurgents, thus reinforced, obtained several brilliant victories. At length Megaby'zus, the bravest general of Persia, was sent with overwhelming forces against the insurgents, whom he forced to raise the siege of Memphis, and to retreat with their allies to the island of Proso'pis in the Nile, where they were besieged in their turn. Megaby'zus soon after diverted the waters of the river into another channel, and thus opened a passage to the island; a proceeding which so astonished the Egyptians, that they surrendered at discretion. The Greeks, however, still held out, and obtained from the generosity or fears of Megaby'zus a capitulation, by which they were permitted to retire with their arms to Cyre'né, a Greek colony in Africa.

20. Most of these brave men perished by disease and fatigue, in traversing the Libyan deserts; and to complete the disaster, a fleet of sixty Athenian ships, which had been sent to assist the revolvers, was surrounded by the Phœnian navy, and destroyed near the spot which had already proved so fatal, though so honourable, to their countrymen.

21. This misfortune and the internal commotions of Greece prevented the Athe'nians from undertaking any new enterprise for nearly seven years. At length they resolved on subduing Cyprus, and thither Cimon was sent with a fleet of two hundred galleys. In this last campaign { B.C.
the son of Miltiades more than maintained his former } 449.
fame. He defeated the combined fleets of Cili'cia and Phœni'cia, and captured one hundred galleys; he took the cities of Male'a and Cit'ium, two of the strongest in the island, and though disabled by a wound at the siege of the latter place, laid siege to Sal'amis, a city said to have been founded in Cyprus by Ieu'cer, the brother of A'jax. Artaxerxes became now seriously anxious to obtain peace, and Cimon, who had always opposed negotiations with Persia, having died of his wounds, a treaty was concluded, on terms the most honourable to Greece.

22. It was stipulated that all the Greek cities in Asia

should be free ; that no Persian army should come within three days' march of the coast ; and that no Persian vessel should appear between the Cya'nean rocks, which lie at the northern extremity of the Thracian Bos'phorus, and the Chelido'nian islands, situated at the southern extremity of Lycia : thus excluding them from the entire Ægean sea. Such was the conclusion of this memorable war, which, with little interruption, had lasted for half a century. The same magnanimous republic that first dared to brave the resentment of the greatest empire in the world, had the honour of prescribing the conditions of peace ; an important era in Grecian history, which the Athe'nians ever after contemplated with pride, though they never attempted to emulate its glory.

Questions for Examination.

1. Did Themistocles league with the enemies of his country ?
2. To what was the patriotism of the Greeks chiefly owing ?
3. How did Themistocles evince his patriotism ?
4. How did Aristeides conduct himself ?
5. What proof was given of the estimation in which he was held ?
6. What enhanced his merit ?
7. Was Aristeides voluntarily poor ?
8. What testimony does history bear to his character ?
9. What proofs of his poverty have been related ?
10. Who became the head of the republic after Aristeides ?
11. What was the character of Cimon in early life ?
12. Did he follow the advice of Aristeides ?
13. What cities did Cimon subdue in Europe ?
14. Did he obtain any signal successes in Asia ?
15. How was the Persian fleet destroyed ?
16. By what means did Cimon obtain a victory both by sea and land on the same day ?
17. How was Athens enriched by this war ?
18. What diverted the Athenians from attacking Cyprus ?
19. How did the war in Egypt terminate ?
20. What losses did the Athenians sustain in the Egyptian expedition ?
21. How was the Persian king forced to sue for peace ?
22. On what conditions was peace made ?

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE PEACE WITH PERSIA TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS.

SECTION II.

1. THE war between Greece and Persia had checked without destroying the mutual jealousies between the leading states, and when the power of their adversaries had been crushed at the decisive battles of Mycale and the Eurym'edon; Sparta, Argos, and Thebes began to look with envy on the glory that Athens had obtained by these immortal victories. The Spartans in particular were enraged with themselves for having withdrawn so early from a war so productive of fame and profit to their rivals; they were still more indignant, because the maritime states, disgusted with the pride and tyranny of Pausa'nias, had withdrawn themselves from the protection of Lacedæmon, and chosen Athens as their guardian and their head. Twenty years before the peace with Persia the Spartans had determined to make war on the Athenians, but unexpected calamities engaged their attention at home, and brought their state to the very brink of destruction.

2. Laco'nia was laid waste by one of the most { B.C.
dreadful earthquakes recorded in history; the city } 469.
of Sparta was tumbled into ruins, and twenty thousand of
the inhabitants were destroyed. The descendants of the
Messenians thought this a favourable opportunity to recover
their independence; the Helots believed that the moment
for recovering their liberty was arrived; both united in rais-
ing the standard of rebellion; and, seizing on the strong
fortress of Itho'me, they spread terror through all Laconia.

3. This revolt, which is usually called the third Messenian war, compelled the Spartans, much against their will, to solicit the assistance of the Athenians, who were considered the most skilful of all the Greeks in conducting sieges. Their request was granted; but the strength of Itho'me baffled their united efforts, and the auxiliaries were sent home. This war continued ten years, and must have greatly exhausted the Spartan state, since at its conclusion

very favourable terms were granted to the insurgents. 4. It
 B.C. } was stipulated, that they should be allowed to depart
 489. } with their wives, children, and property, unmolested,
 from the Peloponnesus. 5. The Athenians received the
 exiles with great kindness, and bestowed on them the city
 of Naupac'tus, a sea-port on the Crissean gulf, which they
 had a short time before taken from the Lo'cri Oz'olæ. The
 fugitives repaid the generosity of Athens by the most de-
 voted attachment; nor had that city a more faithful ally
 than Naupactus during the subsequent wars.

6. It has been already mentioned, that Argos had not
 assisted in the defence of Greece against the Persians, and
 that Thebes had actually assisted the invaders; the subordi-
 nate states of Argolis and Bœotia threw off their allegiance
 to these capitals, and refused to submit any longer to states
 disgraced by cowardice and treachery. The Argives, after
 some vain struggles, could only succeed in subduing the
 little city of Myce'næ, which they razed to the ground;
 the other communities, being supported by the Spartans,
 succeeded in maintaining their independence. But though
 it was the interest of the Lacedæmonians to maintain the
 freedom of the Argive states, it seemed equally advantageous
 to support the supremacy of Thebes over the Bœo'tian states,
 and raise up a rival to Athens in Hellas. 7. A body of
 Spartan auxiliaries was sent to the assistance of the The-
 bans; and the Athenians at the same time vigorously main-
 tained the cause of the minor states. A body of fifteen
 thousand men, under the command of the Athenian general
 Myron'ides, totally defeated the combined forces of the
 Thebans and Spartans at Tanag'ra, and thus established the
 independence of Bœo'tia. 8. The war was however con-
 tinued for some time longer: the Athenian fleet ravaged the
 coasts of the Peloponnesus, and made the Spartans lament
 that they had so rashly provoked the resentment of that
 republic. But in the midst of these triumphs, a rash attempt
 of the Athenian general, Tol'midas, to surprise Thebes,
 having terminated in his death, and the capture of his army,
 B.C. } both parties became anxious for an accommodation.
 445. } A truce was concluded for thirty years; for the pre-
 tensions and jealousies of the rival states prevented them
 from agreeing to a regular treaty.

9. Ci'mon during his life used every exertion to restore
 and preserve peace between Athens and Sparta: he was at

the head of the nobility, whose assistance, added to his own military glory, made him at first the most influential man in the state. But he soon met with a formidable rival in Pericles, the greatest statesman of antiquity. Though descended from an illustrious family, he placed himself at the head of the popular party, and by his superior eloquence “wielded at will that fierce democracy.” Though his military fame did not equal that of Cimon, he was second only to that illustrious general in the art of war: but in political skill Pericles was unequalled, and even had sufficient influence to procure the temporary banishment of his rival. The Bœotian war had been undertaken and prosecuted under his direction, and he concluded the truce only to obtain leisure for the completion of still greater designs.

10. The island and colonies had, as we have already seen, imposed a tax on themselves for the support of the war against Persia, which the Athenians had converted into a regular tribute. The states soon became weary of such an usurpation, and attempted to throw off the yoke; but not acting in concert, they were successively subdued and treated with great severity. They were obliged to surrender their ships, to demolish their walls, to receive an Athenian garrison into their citadels, to deliver up the authors of the revolt, and send hostages to Athens as pledges of their future fidelity. Sa'mos, the capital of the island of that name, was the last that held out. After a siege of nine months, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{B.C.} \\ \text{440.} \end{array} \right.$ it was taken by Pericles, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery.

11. The riches that Pericles obtained in these expeditions were faithfully laid out in increasing the navy and ornamenting the city of Athens. The Par'thenon* and Propylæa, the most magnificent structures of ancient times, were erected and ornamented with the noblest specimens of sculpture and painting; the excellent harbour of Pei'ræus, which Themis'tocles had commenced, was completed, and joined to the city by a line of fortifications called *the long walls*. In short, Athens had reached the summit of her greatness, and was indisputably the most powerful, the most glorious, but at the same time the most envied of the Grecian states.

12. While a general and growing jealousy against Athens was becoming daily more apparent, a dispute arose between

* See Introduction, chap. II.

Co'rinth and one of its colonies, which eventually involved all Greece in a general war. The island of Corcy'ra, now called Corfu, was celebrated for its riches and fertility, even in the days of Homer.* It had received a colony from Co'rinth, but was always treated by that state more as an ally than as a dependency. As their riches and power increased, the Corcyreans gradually threw off their allegiance to the parent state, and even disputed the place of honour with the Corin'thians at the Olympic games. They also sent out colonies of their own, and had several establishments on the shores of the Adriatic sea. Of these, the most flourishing was Epidam'nus, (called Dyrracchium in Roman History,) a city which they founded in Illyria. The barbarous tribes in the vicinity of Epidam'nus had made inroads into its territory, and the citizens being unable to repel the invaders, applied for assistance to the parent state; but their entreaties being neglected, they applied to the Corin'thians, who forthwith sent out a large expedition, and

b.c. } took military possession of the colony. 13. The
453. } Corcy'reans were inflamed with fury when they
learned that the Corin'thians had interfered in the affairs of
their colony. They immediately sent a fleet of forty sail
against Epidam'nus, and closely blockaded the city. The
Corinthians, on the other hand, prepared a powerful arma-
ment for its protection; but their navy was defeated in a
fierce engagement near Ac'tium,† in the Ambra'cian gulf,
and Epidam'nus, being left to its own resources, was forced
to surrender.

14. The Corcyreans, inflamed with success, continued for two years to make repeated incursions into the territories of Co'rinth and the southern states, with which that city was in alliance, until at length most of the Peloponne'sian states entered into a league for their chastisement. As Athens was then the most formidable naval power in Greece, both parties endeavoured to procure her assistance; and after some deliberation, the Athenians, by the advice of Pericles, entered into a defensive treaty with the Corcyreans.

15. By the timely interference of the Athe'nian fleet, the
b.c. } Corcyrean navy was saved from total destruction,
432. } after having been severely defeated by the Corin'thi-

* It is called Phœacia by Homer.

† Four hundred years after this engagement, a still more celebrated battle was fought near the same place, between the fleets of Antony and Augustus.

ans ; and the victors were forced to return home with their prisoners, enraged at the power which had prevented them from reaping the fruits of their triumph. The Corcyrean prisoners were treated at Co'rinth more like brothers than rebels ; we shall hereafter see how fatal were the consequences of this generosity to their native country.

16. The Corin'thians, who dreaded the vengeance of the Athe'nians for the part that they had taken in the war, were not long in finding other employment for the forces of the rival republic. On referring to the map, the reader will see a wide-necked peninsula on the east coast of Macedonia, between the Strymon'ic and Therm'aic gulfs ; this had been at a very early period occupied by several Grecian colonies, all of whom Athens had forced to become her tributary confederates. Among these was Potidæa, which had been originally a Corin'thian colony ; its citizens became weary of the Athe'nian yoke, and waited only for assistance from the parent state, to assert their independence. A body of forces being sent from Co'rinth under the command of Aristeus, the Potidæans were emboldened to declare themselves free, and to set the power of Athens at defiance.

17. The Athe'nians immediately blocked up Pot'idæa by sea and land, while the Corin'thians sent ambassadors to all the Peloponne'sian states, and especially to Sparta, urging the formation of a confederacy, to check a power whose increasing strength and pretensions threatened the independence of all the Grecian communities.

18. The deputies of another state, complaining of Athe'nian injustice, had previously arrived in Sparta. We have already seen the circumstances under which the Dor'ic state of Megaris had been formed on the borders of Attica ; their Ionic neighbours had always regarded them with jealousy, and Per'icles even went so far as to propose and carry a law, excluding all the natives of Mega'ra from the ports and markets of Attica. To the Spartans, as the head of the Dor'ic race, the Megareans made their complaint, and dwelt strongly on this as a proof of the inveterate hostility which all members of their branch of the Hellenic race should expect from the Ionians.

19. The Spartans, after some hesitation, declared that the Athe'nians had violated their duty, and ought to be reduced to reason ; but wishing to preserve the appearance of moderation, they sent overtures for an accommodation to Athens, which they well knew would be indignantly rejected.

They required that the siege of Pot'idæa should be raised; the decree against Mega'ra repealed, the independence of the islands acknowledged, and the descendants of those who had, in the almost forgotten* affair of Cylon, violated the sanctuary of Minerva, banished from the city. 20. The last singular clause was particularly levelled at Per'icles, who was by the mother's side descended from Megacles, a conspicuous actor in that iniquitous transaction. 21. The aristocratic faction at Athens endeavoured to crush Per'icles during the storm of rage and terror which agitated the populace when these proposals were made; but though they succeeded in procuring the banishment of some of his friends, the eloquent defence of Per'icles not only rescued him from the danger, but induced the people to dismiss the Spartan deputies. All hopes of peace were now destroyed, and both parties vigorously prepared for war.

Questions for Examination.

1. What Grecian states were jealous of the glory of Athens?
2. How were the Messenians and Helots induced to revolt against the Spartans?
3. How long did this war last?
4. On what conditions was peace made?
5. What became of the Messenian exiles?
6. How were Argos and Thebes punished for their conduct in the Persian war?
7. By what battle was the liberty of Bœotia secured?
8. How was this war terminated?
9. What was the character of Pericles?
10. How did Athens assert their superiority over the maritime states?
11. To what use was the wealth obtained in these wars applied?
12. What dispute arose between the Corcyreans and Corin'thians?
13. How was Epidamnus forced to surrender?
14. Which side did the Athe'nians take in this war?
15. Was their interference advantageous to the Corcyreans?
16. How did the Corin'thians take revenge on the Athe'nians?
17. To whom did the Corin'thians apply for aid?
18. Did any other state complain of the Athe'nians?
19. On what conditions did the Spartans offer peace?
20. Why was the clause about Cylon inserted?
21. How were the Spartan conditions answered?

* See chapter III. sect. I.

SECTION II.

FIRST PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

1. THE league which was formed to humble the power of the Athenians included the most powerful states in continental Greece; Argos and Achaia were the only Peloponnesians that did not join in the confederacy, and north of the isthmus, the cause of the allies was supported openly by the Macedonians and Thebans, while several others were secretly devoted to the Lacedæmonians, whom they looked on as the liberators of Greece. The Athenians were supported by the Acarnanians, several of the Thessalian princes, some of the Thracian tribes, and the little republics of Plataea and Naupactus. The islands of the Ægean and the Greek cities in Thrace and Asia Minor, were rather the vassals than the confederates of Athens, and many of them were consequently very insincere in their support of a power by whom they believed themselves oppressed.

2. The war which now broke out was rendered more fierce and destructive by the collision of principles which it occasioned. The wealthy landowners in all the Grecian states were favourable to the Spartan cause, which was identified with that of aristocratic government; the lovers of democracy were eager for the success of Athens, the well-known patron of popular liberty. Thus not only was Greece divided against itself, but in every city and every petty state there were two parties who viewed each other with the fiercest enmity, and filled their communities with every crime that bitter party zeal could produce. To this was added the ancient hostility between those of Ionic and Doric descent, which Athens and Sparta seem to have preserved to the latest period of their history.

3. The war commenced by an attempt on the part of the Thebans to surprise the little city of Plataea, in which they were totally defeated. Soon after the confederate army, amounting to sixty thousand men, under the command of Archida'mus, the Spartan king, assembled on the isthmus. Thence they proceeded to invade Attica, but lost much time in the fruitless siege of Ceno'e, a strong fortress on the borders of Bœotia. 4. This delay gave the

Athenians time to execute the singular plan of defence recommended by Pericles ; they laid waste their own fields and farms, sent into the city all their provisions and valuable effects, and then retreating as the enemy advanced, sheltered themselves within the extended fortifications that led to the Peiræus. The Spartans devastated the open country but finding it impossible to provoke the Athenians to an engagement, returned home, severely harassed in their retreat by the cavalry and light troops which Pericles assembled for the purpose. 5. The Athenians amply revenged this invasion, by sending out a fleet to ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus, which spread terror through the entire peninsula. They also invaded the unfortunate territory of Meg'aris at the moment its inhabitants were preparing to gather in their harvest, and obtained immense booty. They also succeeded in capturing Nisæ'a, the seaport of Meg'ara, which they almost totally destroyed. For several years the same operations were annually repeated, the Spartans with an irresistible army devastating Attica, and the Athenians with an equally formidable navy carrying terror to every part of southern Greece.

6. In the beginning of the next year the Lacedæmo'nians invaded At'tica with as powerful an army as before, and the Athe'nians were once more obliged to take refuge within their walls. But a more dreadful calamity than even that of war now began to visit the unhappy Athe'nians. A plague, and one of the most terrible that is recorded in history, broke out among them. It is said to have begun in Ethio'pia, whence it descended into Egypt, thence travelling into Lyb'ia and Persia, it at last broke like a flood upon Athens.* This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art ; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks ; no skill could obviate, nor any remedy dispel the infection. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends, in visiting and attending the sick, was as fatal to themselves as it was useless to the unhappy sufferers. 7. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city increased the calamity. Most of the inhabitants, for want

* It first attacked those that dwelt in the Peiræus in so terrible a manner, that they imagined the Peloponne'sians had poisoned their wells.

of better lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarcely breathe, while the burning heat of the summer inflamed the malignity of the distemper. They were seen confusedly huddled together, the dead as well as the living : of the latter, some were crawling through the streets, some lying by the sides of fountains, to which they had with difficulty repaired to quench the raging thirst that consumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful scene of mortality, without remedy for the present, or hope for the future. It seized the people with such violence, that they fell one upon another as they passed the streets. It was also attended with such pestilential vapours, that the very beasts and birds of prey, though perishing with hunger round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of those who died of it. Even those who recovered, received such a terrible shock, as affected the very faculties of their mind. It effaced the memory of all the occurrences of their past lives, and they knew neither themselves nor their nearest relations. 8. The cause of the great havoc which the plague made among the unfortunate Athe'nians was generally imputed to Per'icles, who by drawing such numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. 9. Yet, though this plague was raging within, and the enemy wasting the country without, he still continued to think that they ought not to risk all their fortunes on the event of a battle. In the mean time the Lacedæmo'nians, advancing towards the coast, laid waste the whole country, and returned, after having insulted the wretched Athe'nians, already thinned by pestilence and famine.

10. It is not to be supposed that Per'icles, the reputed author of these calamities, could long escape the popular resentment. In fact, he began to be as much hated by the people as ever he had been beloved, and they had actually deposed him from the command of the army; though actuated by that fickleness for which they were remarkable, they soon reinstated him with more than former authority. But he did not live long to enjoy his honour.

11. He had seen the members of his once numerous and happy family successively fall victims to the plague, and only in one instance had his fortitude failed him for a moment. At the funeral of his last son, Par'alus, he could not suppress the feelings of parental tenderness, and burst into a flood of tears; but he soon recovered his composure,

{ B.C.
429.

and bent his undivided energies to the service of the state. But his strength became soon unequal to the task ; in the third year of the war he was seized with a mortal disease ; yet even then Athens engaged all his thoughts, and on his death-bed he continued to give the most judicious advice for the management of the war, and the treatment of the allies.

12. A little before he expired, his weeping friends were enumerating his many brilliant victories, and the wisdom with which he had administered the government,—“ You forget,” said he, “ the only valuable part of my character ; no Athenian was ever forced, by any action of mine, to put on a mourning robe.” 13. Thus died the most illustrious statesman that Greece ever produced : he was ambitious for his country and not for himself ; he expended a princely fortune in the service of the public, and though he had the uncontrolled management of the revenue, he never was accused of converting the smallest portion to his own purposes. Thucydides, his political rival, bears the highest testimony to his abilities, by declaring that had not the advice of Pericles been neglected, Athens would have baffled the utmost efforts of the confederates.

B. C. } 14. The Lacedæmonians urged by the Thebans
427. } undertook the siege of Plataea, and the citizens having sent their wives and children to Athens, retained a garrison only of four hundred Plataeans, and eighty Athenians : but with this inconsiderable force they baffled the entire army of the confederates for three years. 15. While the siege continued, the Athenians suffered some reverses in Thrace, but this was more than compensated by a brilliant naval victory obtained by a small squadron, under Phonicion on the west coast of Greece ; though at first defeated and forced to retreat by the superior forces of the Peloponnesians, he turned on his pursuers, recovered all his own ships, and took six of the enemy besides. 16. The siege of Plataea had been turned into a blockade, and a strong line of fortifications drawn round the town ; half the garrison, with the loss of only a single man, broke through the lines and escaped to Athens, the rest surrendered to the Spartans on condition that none should be put to death without a fair trial. 17. The trial granted them was a cruel mockery ; each was asked, had he done any service to the cause of the Spartans during the war ? and as he answered in the negative, was slaughtered without mercy. Thus to gratify their Theban allies did the Spartans massacre a hand-

ful of brave men whose courage and fidelity merited a better fate. 18. Nearly at the same time Potidæa surrendered to the Athenians, and was occupied by new inhabitants. The expelled citizens retired to the neighbouring maritime towns, where they increased the enmity against the dominion of Athens.

Questions for Examination.

1. How were the Grecian states divided in the first Peloponnesian war?
2. What circumstance imbibed the hostility of the combatants?
3. How did the war commence?
4. Did not the Athenians adopt a singular plan of defence?
5. How was the invasion of Attica revenged?
6. By what dreadful calamity were the Athenians soon after afflicted?
7. What circumstances made the plague particularly destructive?
8. Who is blamed for this?
9. Did the Athenians lose their courage?
10. How was Pericles treated by his countrymen?
11. What caused the death of this statesman?
12. To what did he refer as the noblest trait in his character?
13. What proofs are given of his wisdom and integrity?
14. What siege did the confederates undertake?
15. Did any remarkable events occur during its progress?
16. Did any of the Plataeans escape?
17. What became of the rest?
18. How did the Athenians treat Potidæa?

SECTION III.

FIRST PELOPONNESIAN WAR, CONTINUED.

THE revolt of Les'bos and the sedition of Corcy'ra were the next most remarkable occurrences in the war. The Lesbians were, like the Thebans, of Æol'ic descent; and though treated by the Athenians with more leniency than the other colonies, were naturally disinclined to submit to the degrading tribute which Athens required from all her dependencies. The better class especially were anxious to be received into the Peloponnesian confederacy, because the Athenians had transferred all power from them to the people. 2. Their negotiations with Sparta were, however, betrayed; and the Athenians immediately sent out a powerful fleet, under Pa'ches, to reduce the rebellious islanders to

subjection. The inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, actuated more by hatred of the Lesbians than love of the Athenians, sent considerable forces, and Mityle'ne, the capital of the island, was soon closely invested, both by sea and land. 3. When the siege had continued several B.C. } months, the Spartans, after many delays, raised a fleet, 427. } which they intrusted to Alcidas, a man every way unfitted for such an important command. Instead of sailing to the relief of Mityle'ne, Alcidas employed his ships in plundering merchant-vessels and murdering their crews; he also levied contributions on several Io'nian cities, which were well inclined to revolt from the Athenians, but which the cruelty of the Spartans now confirmed in their allegiance.

4. Salæ'thias, the governor of Mityle'ne, beginning to despair of success, armed the populace, in order to make an assault on the Athenian lines; but no sooner did the lower orders obtain possession of arms, than they made themselves complete masters of the city. This precipitated a surrender, Mityle'ne capitulated, on condition that none of the citizens should be enslaved or put to death, until the pleasure of the Athenian people was known.

5. A galley was immediately despatched with the news to Athens, and an assembly of the people convoked, to decide on the fate of Mityle'ne. The rage of the Athenians was violent, because they had distinguished the Lesbians by peculiar favours, and thus the crime of their rebellion was heightened by ingratitude. Cle'on, who had raised himself from the lowest ranks of life to be a popular leader, by the most audacious profligacy, still further stimulated their resentment, and under his auspices a decree was passed, that all the citizens of Mityle'ne should be put to the sword, and the women and children sold into slavery.

6. This atrocious decree was proposed, carried, and sent off in one day; but the night brought better thoughts into the popular mind. On the following morning a general feeling of regret was observable through the entire city, a new assembly was summoned, the former decree repealed, and a swift-sailing galley despatched to prevent the execution of the former. Fortunately, the messenger of mercy was not retarded by any unfavourable circumstance, the countermand arrived before Paches had made any preparations to execute his previous orders, and the citizens of Mityle'ne were rescued from danger almost as soon as they heard of its existence.

7. We mentioned in a former section, that the Corinthians had treated their Corcyre'an captives with great clemency; having thus attached them to their interest, they now sent them home, trusting that by their influence Corcy'ra might be detached from the Athenian alliance. They left no art untried for the purpose, but the popular leaders being firm in the Athenian interest, their efforts were unsuccessful, until they assassinated their opponents in the senate house. This detestable murder gave a temporary triumph to the aristocratic faction at Corcy'ra, and was followed up by an unprovoked attack on the general assembly of the people in the midst of their peaceful deliberations. A fearful massacre of the populace ensued, and the streets of Corcy'ra were flooded by the blood of the citizens. But the people being reinforced by the slaves, and even by the women, rose against their oppressors, and eventually remained victorious. 8. This civil commotion continued for two years, both parties emulating each other in barbarity and treachery, until at length the arrival of an Athenian fleet, under the command of Eurym'edon and Soph'ocles, decided the victory in favour of the people. 9. The opposing party surrendered on terms, but being induced by a treacherous artifice of their countrymen to violate the terms of the capitulation, they were all ruthlessly massacred. 10. Thus ended the sedition of Corcy'ra, but its effects continued long to be fatally experienced in Greece. The advocates of aristocracy and democracy began from this time forward to look on each other as enemies, and were eager to decide their differences with the sword, rather than the tongue.

11. The fleet which had arrived at Corcy'ra was destined against Sicily, which being chiefly colonized by Dorians, was naturally disposed to assist the Spartans; we shall hereafter see its effects on that island, at present we must direct our attention to its operations in southern Greece. 12. Demos'thenes, whose courage and ability have been so highly extolled by his illustrious relative of the same name, had been intrusted with the command of the Athenian auxiliaries in Naupac'tus; he was at first defeated by the Æto'lians and Ambra'ciots who had espoused the cause of Sparta, but he soon retrieved his losses, and by two splendid victories completely established the superiority of the Athenian allies. When the term of his command was expired, he solicited and obtained permission to serve as a volunteer in

the fleet that sailed for Corcy'ra, with leave to employ the Messe'nians, by whom he was accompanied, in any enterprise which might advance the public service. As the fleet on their return from Corcyra sailed along the south-western shores of the Peloponne'sus, the Messe'nians could not avoid being affected as they viewed the shores of their beloved country, and at length they determined on effecting a landing at Py'los, the modern Navarino, which was supposed to have been the seat of Nestor's kingdom. This design, though encouraged by Demos'thenes, was at first opposed by Eurym'edon, but the fleet being forced into the harbour by stress of weather, the sailors for their amusement assisted the Messe'nians in the erection of a fort, and so vigorous were their exertions, that in six days, Py'los was sufficiently strong to maintain a siege.

13. As Pylos was but fifty miles from Sparta, the inhabitants of that city were naturally alarmed by the vicinity of the enemy, and still more by the reflection, that many of their slaves being of Messe'nian descent, would be inclined to join the Pylian garrison. 14. As soon, therefore, as the squadron of Eurym'edon had departed, Py'los was closely besieged by a Spartan army, its harbour blockaded by the confederate fleet, and a numerous garrison selected from the bravest Spartan soldiers placed in the island of Sphacte'ria, which commands the entrance of the Pylian bay. Demos'thenes, who remained as commander of the Messenians, with difficulty maintained his post for three days, but at the end of that time, the fleet of Eurymedon returned and relieved him from his embarrassment. 15. The Spartan fleet was totally defeated, and the garrison in Sphacte'ria were now blockaded in their turn. This led to some negotiations which the pride of the Athenians rendered abortive; they trusted that the capture of the troops in Sphacte'ria, who were composed of the first rank of the Spartan citizens, would enable them to dictate peace on their own terms. 16. But the conquest of this little island was a matter of no small difficulty; the soldiers under the command of Demosthenes were too few to make victory certain, and Sphacte'ria, being densely wooded and full of defiles, might easily be defended; besides Pylos itself was closely watched by the Spartans, and the Athenians were, in fact, besieged, as well as besiegers.

17. When the news of these circumstances reached Athens, the people were in great commotion, and Cle'on,

deeming this a favourable opportunity for calumniating his rival Ni'cias, declared, that, "if *he* were a general, Sphacteria should soon be compelled to surrender." Ni'cias was the leader of the aristocratic party, which had been all along opposed to the war; he was besides of a prudent and almost timid disposition, and therefore but little inclined to attempt an enterprise so hazardous, as an attack upon Sphacte'ria. To the boasts of his opponent, he replied by an offer to resign the office of general in his favour. Cle'on, who was, like all boasters, a notorious coward, refused the offer; but the Athenian multitude, delighted at seeing him caught by his own artifices, insisted that Cle'on should be their general, and he found himself obliged to comply. His impudence, however, did not forsake him; he advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, that within thirty days he would bring all the Lacedæmonians in Sphacte'ria prisoners to Athens. 18. This boast was received with shouts of laughter; but a combination of events enabled Cle'on to fulfil his promise. An accidental fire destroyed the wood which had hitherto protected the rear of the Spartans, and when they retreated to a corner of the island, the Messenians ascended the precipitous rocks which commanded their rear, and thus, after a gallant resistance, they were forced to surrender themselves prisoners. Cle'on returned to Athens in triumph, and claimed the entire merit of the success, which of right belonged to Demosthenes.

19. In the following year the Athenians made the important conquest of the island of Cythe'ra, which { B. C. 424. being situated on the south coast of Laconia, enabled them to ravage the enemy's shores in security. 20. At the same time they sent a large force to Bœotia to assist the states who had conspired against Thebes; the plot was discovered by accident, and the Athenians prepared to retreat, after having seized and fortified the little town of De'lium. In their retreat they were intercepted by the Thebans, and defeated with considerable loss; soon after which De'lium was forced to surrender. 21. But a new and unexpected calamity changed the tide of the Athenian good fortune; Olyn'thus and several other maritime states in Macedonia suddenly took up arms to check the naval power of Athens, and having been joined by the princes of the country, sent to Sparta for assistance. Bras'idias, one of the bravest generals that Sparta ever produced, and the only one who united a character for strict integrity to his fame for courage

and skill, was sent to their assistance with a strong detachment. He traversed the entire of northern Greece before the Athenians could take any measure to check his progress. On his arrival, he proceeded to attack all the tributary confederates of Athens, and in a few months, either by force or persuasion, he alienated from her alliance the principal maritime states in Thrace and Macedon.

22. This misfortune inclined the Athenians to peace, and the Spartan nobility, envious of the glory obtained by Brasidas, were not averse to an accommodation. A truce for a year was agreed on between the republics; but at the end of that period, Cle'on persuaded his countrymen to send him with an armament against Amphip'olis,* whose loss the Athenians felt most sensibly. 23. The Spartan general B. C. } made the most judicious preparations for his recep-
421. } tion, and Cle'on, totally ignorant of military affairs, fell into an ambuscade, where his army was routed with great slaughter. This success was counterbalanced by the death of both the generals; the fall of Cle'on was an advantage greater than victory to the Athenians, but nothing could compensate the Spartans for the loss of Brasidas; he was interred with military honours, but the deep grief of the allies, who wept over his grave, was the noblest tribute to his memory.

24. The battle of Amphip'olis removed the principal obstacles to a peace. Ni'cias, who had opposed the war from the beginning, found the Spartan king, Pleisto'anax, equally disposed to moderation. Conferences were held; and after some brief delay, a treaty for fifty years was concluded between Athens and Sparta, on the basis of mutual restitution, and that all things should be placed in the same state as they were before the commencement of the war. But this peace contained within itself the elements of future discord, for as no provision was made for the minor states, the allies of both, and especially those of the Spartans, were justly indignant and discontented.

Questions for Examination

1. What induced the Lesbians to revolt?
2. To whom was the command of the expedition against Lesbos given?
3. How did the Spartan admiral behave?

* A city on the river Strymon, in Thrace: see map.

4. What compelled the governor of Mitylene to surrender ?
5. Did the Athenians pass a severe decree against the revolters ?
6. Was the barbarous edict put into execution ?
7. What detestable crime kindled a civil war in Corcyra ?
8. How was this war terminated ?
9. Did the Corcyrean populace take revenge on the nobles ?
10. What were the consequences of the Corcyrean civil war ?
11. Why were the people of Sicily inclined to favour the Spartans ?
12. What remarkable enterprise was undertaken by Demosthenes and the Messenian exiles ?
13. Why did the garrison at Pylos alarm the Spartans ?
14. Where did the Spartans station a garrison to control Pylos ?
15. To what inconvenience were the Spartans in Sphacteria subjected ?
16. Why did not the Athenians immediately conquer Sphacteria ?
17. Under what strange circumstances was Cleon appointed to take the command at Pylos ?
18. By what accident did Cleon succeed ?
19. Did the Athenians capture any other island ?
20. What led to the defeat at Delium ?
21. Whom did the Spartans send to aid the revolters in Thrace and Macedon ?
22. How was peace prevented ?
23. What remarkable persons fell in the battle of Amphipolis ?
24. On what conditions was peace concluded between Athens and Sparta ?

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE END OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

SECTION I.

1. TREATIES of peace, however solemn or sincere, are but feeble barriers against the interests, the inclinations, or the prejudices of rival states, or even against the ambitious views of those that have the chief direction of their councils. This was fatally experienced in the war that, notwithstanding their late agreement, soon after broke out between the Athe'nians and Spartans, not to promote the welfare or advance the power of either people, but merely to gratify the pride and vanity of Alcibi'ades, who was now become the most popular man in Athens. 2. The character of this extraordinary man was a strange compound of great

virtues and great vices. From his father Clei'nias, he received a large fortune, and all the advantages of education which Athens could afford. The servile adulation of those by whom he was surrounded, made him long the slave of vicious pleasure, until a perusal of the works of Homer awakened his ambition. 3. Soon after, he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Soc'rates, and the lessons of that celebrated philosopher greatly contributed to enlarge his mind. Soc'rates is said to have saved the life of his pupil at the battle of Potidæ'a, and Alcibi'ades to have performed a similar service to his master at De'lium; these circumstances naturally strengthened their union, but unfortunately the philosopher incurred more disgrace by the subsequent crimes of his disciple, than Alcibi'ades derived benefit from the lessons of Soc'rates. 4. Equal to Per'icles in abilities and ambition, Alcibi'ades wanted the integrity and patriotism of that illustrious statesman; he thought more of himself than of his country; he was actuated by selfish motives in all the objects at which he aimed, and unscrupulous in the use of the means by which they might be obtained. He was not less remarkable for his accomplishments than for his genius; and distinguished himself no less by his success at the Olympic games than by his eloquence and military genius. 5. He was equally remarkable for his versatility; amidst the philosophers he spoke eloquently in praise of virtue, and in a few moments would stand the leader of the worst dissipation amid his wild companions; at Athens he courted the favour of the people by specious professions of his love of liberty; at Sparta he was the devoted admirer of the institutions of Lycur'gus; in Asia he practised the refined luxuries of the East, and in Thrace cheerfully adopted the barbarous habits of its inhabitants;—in all places he displayed abilities and ingenuity, but also—fatally for his country and himself—dishonesty.

6. The family of Alcibi'ades had been connected with the Lacedæmonians in former times, and he resolved to renew the intimacy. For this purpose he showed all the kindness in his power to the prisoners who had been taken at Sphacte'ria, but the Spartans, despising his youth, rejected all his advances, and placed all their confidence in Ni'cias. Irritated by this preference, Alcibi'ades resolved to take revenge on Ni'cias and the Spartans together, by exciting the Athenians to renew the war; a project which the Spartans



Alcibiades at the Olympic games.

themselves facilitated by several flagrant violations of the late treaty.

7. The first step he took for this purpose was to instigate the people of Ar'gos to break with the Lacedæmo'nians, assuring them, that, if they did so, they should soon be supported by the whole power of Athens. 8. Indeed every thing was in a fair way for a treaty between the Athe'nians and Argives, when the Lacedæmonians, who far surpassed all the other Greeks in dissimulation, having heard some account of these negotiations, sent ambassadors to Athens to remonstrate, and invested them with full power to settle all matters in dispute in an amicable manner. This commission seemed to satisfy the council, to whom it was first communicated; and the people were to assemble the next day, to give the ambassadors an audience. 9. Alcibi'ades, fearing that this would mar his schemes, had recourse to the following artifice. He contrived to have a private conference with the ambassadors, and persuaded them, under the colour of friendship, not to let the people know at first what full powers they possessed, but merely to intimate that they came to treat and make proposals; for that otherwise the people would grow exorbitant in their demands, and endeavour to extort from them such unreasonable terms as they could not with honour consent to. 10. The stratagem succeeded. The ambassadors, believing him sincere, withdrew their confidence from Ni'eias, and reposed it in him; and the next day, when the people were assembled, and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibi'ades, with a very obliging air, demanded of them with what powers they were come?

They made answer, that they were not come as plenipotentiaries. Upon which he instantly changed his voice and countenance, and, reproaching them for their falsehood and prevarication, bid the people take care how they transacted any thing with men on whose veracity they could have so little dependence. 11. The people dismissed the ambassadors in a rage; and Ni'cias, knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded and in disgrace. To redeem his credit, he proposed being sent once more to Sparta; but not being able to obtain such terms as the Athe'nians demanded, they immediately, upon his return, made a league with the Argives for a hundred years, including the Ele'ans and Mantinei'ans; which yet did not expressly cancel that with the Lacedæmo'nians, though it was plain that the whole scope of it was levelled against them.* 12. Upon this new alliance Alcibi'ades was declared general, and though even his best friends could not commend the method by which he had accomplished his designs, yet it was looked upon as a great stroke in politics thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponne'sus, and to remove the war so far from the Athe'nian frontier, that even success would profit the enemy but little, should they be conquerors; whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itself would hardly be safe.†

13. The Spartans, however, were determined to crush the evil in the bud; and accordingly, drawing out their whole force, both of citizens and slaves, and, being joined by their allies, they encamped almost under the walls of Argos. The Argives were not slow in meeting them; they immediately marched out and offered them battle. But just as the two armies were going to engage, a truce was concluded for four months, as a previous step towards an amicable settlement of all differences.

14. The Athenians did not, however, confine their entire attention to ~~the~~ Peloponne'sus, but strenuously exerted themselves to recover their former influence in the colonies

* By this treaty Athens, instead of Lacedæ'mon, became the leading power in Greece, and the head of the Peloponne'sian confederacy.

† Notwithstanding the treaty subsisting between the Athe'nians and Lacedæmonians, the former thought fit to lay siege to Epidau'rus, a little republic in alliance with Sparta. The Spartans took the field in behalf of their friends, and obtained a considerable victory over the Athenians. Soon after, the Argives, renouncing their alliance with Athens, joined the Spartans, and compelled the Athe'nians to raise the siege.

and islands. 15. Expeditions were sent against the revolted states in Thrace and Macedon; the inhabitants of the captured colonies were treated with great severity, but this, though it produced a momentary terror, created also a fierce spirit of enmity, whose effects Athens soon after { B.C. bitterly experienced. 16. Among these enterprises, { 416. the expedition against the island of Me'los, one of the largest and most flourishing of the Cy'clades, was pre-eminently distinguished by its daring injustice. 17. The island had been originally colonized by the Spartans, and for seven hundred years had maintained its independence; but now the excellence of its harbours, the convenience of its situation, and the fertility of its soil, had excited the cupidity of the Athenians, and ambassadors were sent to demand its submission. 18. The Melians, after having vainly remonstrated against such a tyrannical demand, flatly refused to become the tributary confederate of any state, and war was forthwith declared. The Peloponnesian states looked on carelessly, while the Athenians assailed the island, and the Me'lians, thus deserted, were subdued after an obstinate resistance; the conquerors treated them as if they had been rebels, slaughtering all the men, and reducing the women and children to slavery.

Questions for Examination.

1. By whose influence was the treaty of Nicias broken?
2. What was the character of Alcibiades?
3. By whom did he receive instructions?
4. How did he differ from Pericles?
5. What trait in the character of Alcibiades was particularly remarkable?
6. Why did he dislike the Spartans?
7. How did Alcibiades proceed to rekindle the war?
8. Did the Spartans send to remonstrate against the league between Athens and Argos?
9. How did Alcibiades deceive them?
10. Was this artifice successful?
11. In what manner did the Athenians behave?
12. Why was Alcibiades celebrated for his policy in this transaction?
13. How did the Argive war terminate?
14. What object particularly engaged the attention of the Athenians?
15. How were the revolted treated?
16. Where is the island of Melos?
17. Had the Athenians any claim to it?
18. What became of the Melians?

SECTION II.

ATHENIAN EXPEDITION TO SICILY.

1. A NEW expedition was soon after undertaken by the Athe'nians, as unjust as that against the Melians, but whose fatal termination seemed a merited retribution for the evils inflicted by unprincipled ambition. This was the celebrated invasion of Sicily, which proved the entire ruin of the Athe'nian power.

2. The greater part of Sicily was colonized by the Do'rians, but some of the Io'nians had also obtained settlements in the country. 3. Sy'racuse, the chief of the Do'ric cities, was founded by Archi'as, a Co'rinthian. It was beautifully situated in the east of Sicily,* and was divided into four districts, Ortyg'ia, Acradi'na, Ty'cha, and Neapo'lis; which, like London, Southwark, and Westminster, were looked on as separate towns. A rocky district on the north side, named Epipo'læ, was a weakly fortified suburb, which, however, in some measure commanded the town.

* In the accompanying plan, to which the reader will have frequently occasion to refer in the course of this and the following section, the successive stations occupied by the Athe'nians, during the siege, are marked by the numbers 1, 2, and 3.



4. Sy'racuse soon attained to such a height of prosperity that, as we have already seen, its sovereign Gelon claimed the command of the united Grecian forces in the Persian war. In the wars with the Carthaginians, the Syracusans were found to be the most vigorous defenders of Sicilian independence: but the fame that they thus acquired induced them to claim for themselves a supremacy over the other states, which they were unwilling to grant. 5. The Io'nian colonies, being few, and weak, applied for the protection of Athens, and the fleet which decided the civil war in Corcy'ra* was sent to their assistance. The fear of the Athe'nian power induced the Do'ric states to cease from harassing their Io'nian neighbours, but at the same time it led to a union of all the Sicilian cities, who justly dreaded the ambition of a maritime power that had already become the mistress of the eastern seas of Europe.

6. This union was principally effected by the influence of Hermoc'rates, a Syracu'san equally celebrated for valour, wisdom, and eloquence; but mutual jealousy prevented it from being permanent. 7. In a very few years the Syracu'sans besieged and took Leon'tium, treated the inhabitants with great severity, and prepared to attack the Egestans, who had been allies of the Leontines. 8. The Egestans applied for assistance to the Athe'nians, and gave a very exaggerated statement of the pecuniary resources which they could command. By the prudent advice of Ni''cias, commissioners were sent to Egesta, to inquire into the truth of these representations, and to these the crafty Sicilians exhibited large sums as their own, which they had borrowed from their neighbours. 9. The deputies on their return made such a favourable report, that the Athe'nians immediately resolved to succour the Egestans, an armament was ordered to be got ready with the greatest expedition, and the command was intrusted to Ni''cias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus; who had directions not only to succour the allies, but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic.

10. Ni''cias was extremely uneasy at his being appointed to this command, partly because he disapproved of the war itself, but chiefly because he was joined in commission with Alcibi'ades. But the Athe'nians thought it necessary to temper the ardour and impetuosity of the one, with the coolness and deliberation of the other. Ni''cias, therefore, not

* See the last section of the preceding chapter.

daring to oppose the war openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by representing the great number of difficulties with which it would be attended. 11. He said, that a fleet would not be sufficient; that a land army must likewise be raised, and subsisted at an immense expense; for as to the pompous promises made to them by the Eges'tans, these might probably fail them at a time when they stood most in need of pecuniary aid. 12. That they ought to weigh well the great disparity between them and the enemy with regard to the conveniences they would respectively enjoy: that the Syracu'sans would be in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, disposed by inclination, as well as engaged by interest, to assist them with men, money, horses, and provisions; whereas the Athe'nians would carry on the war with a remote country, possessed by their enemies, where in winter, news could not be brought from home in less than four months; a country, where all things would oppose the Athe'nians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms. That, if even the expedition succeeded, it would not be productive of the mighty advantages expected from it; and, if it failed, it would reflect eternal disgrace upon the Athe'nian name: and that, for his own part, he was determined not to go, unless he was supplied with every thing necessary for carrying on the war, as he would not depend upon the caprice or precarious promises of allies. 13. This speech, however, instead of cooling the ardour of the Athe'nians, as Ni'cias expected, served only to inflame it more: and orders were immediately given for raising as many troops and fitting out as many galleys as the generals thought necessary: and the levies accordingly were carried on in Athens, and other places, with incredible spirit.

B.C. } 14. The levies being completed, the generals re-
415. } solved to set sail immediately, after having appointed
Corcy'ra as the place of rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions and warlike stores. All the inhabitants of Athens flocked by daybreak to the port of Peiræ'eus, in order to behold this magnificent sight. It was, indeed, a spectacle well worth their curiosity; for neither Athens, nor any other city of Greece, had ever fitted out so grand and gallant a fleet as the present. 15. The city had furnished a hundred galleys, that is, sixty light ones, and forty to transport the heavy-armed soldiers. Every mariner received a daily drachma, or ten pence English, for his pay, exclusive of what the captains of ships gave the

rowers of the first bench. 16. When the ships were loaded, and the troops embarked, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition. Gold and silver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accustomed libations poured out; the people, who lined the shore, shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and a successful expedition. 17. And now the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed, and soon arrived at Ægi'na. Thence they made for Corcy'ra, where the army of the allies was assembled with the rest of the fleet.

18. Upon their arrival at Sicily,* the generals were divided in their opinions with regard to the place where they should make a descent. Lam'achus was for sailing directly to Sy'racuse, and attacking the town before the inhabitants had time to recover from their first consternation. 19. But his proposal was rejected, and it was thought more expedient to reduce the smaller cities first. Detaching, therefore, ten galleys to take a view of the harbour and situation of Sy'racuse, they landed with the rest of their forces, and surprised Cata'na.

20. In the mean time the enemies of Alcibi'ades took advantage of his absence to traduce his character, which, indeed, was sufficiently open to attack. A little before his departure, the statues of the Hermæ all through Athens were mutilated in one night. The impious levity of Alcibi'ades exposed him to suspicion, as the author of this outrage; and to this was added the still more heinous charge of having profaned the mysteries of Ceres. 21. This was sufficient to induce the giddy multitude to recall their general; but, for fear of exciting a tumult in the army, they only sent him orders to return to Athens, that he might pacify the people by his presence. Alcibi'ades pretended to obey the order with great submission; but, reflecting on the inconstancy and caprice of his judges, he no sooner reached Thu'rium,† than he disappeared, and the galley therefore returned without him. 22. For this act of contumacy he

* While they lay at Rhegium, in Italy, they received the unwelcome account of the cheat that had been put upon them by the people of Ægesta, who, so far from being able to defray the expenses of the war, were wretchedly poor, the whole property of the state not exceeding seven or eight thousand pounds.

† A town of Luca'nia, in Italy.

was condemned to death, his whole estate was confiscated, and all the orders of religion were commanded to curse him. Alcibi'ades, on hearing of this severe proceeding, exclaimed, "I hope one day to make them sensible that I am still alive!"

23. He retired to Sparta, where he soon gained the confidence of the rulers, by strictly conforming to all the laws of Lycurgus. Thirsting for revenge, he used his powerful genius in planning, and his influence in procuring, the execution of those wise measures which subsequently terminated in the ruin of Athens.

24. The Syracu'sans had by this time put themselves in a posture of defence, and finding that Ni'cias did not advance towards them, proposed to attack him in his camp; and some of them asked in a scoffing way, whether he was come into Sicily to settle at Cata'na?*. Roused by this insult, he determined to show them that he was deficient neither in courage nor conduct. He was afraid, however, of attacking the place by land for the want of cavalry; and it was almost equally hazardous to make a descent by sea: nevertheless, he chose the latter method, and succeeded in it by a stratagem. 25. He had gained a citizen of Cata'na to go as a deserter to the Syracu'sans, and inform them, that the Athe'nians lay every night in the town without their arms; and that early in the morning on a certain day appointed they might surprise them, seize on the camp, with all their arms and baggage, burn their fleet in the harbour, and destroy their whole army. The Syracu'sans gave credit to this intelligence, and marched with all their forces towards Cata'na, which Ni'cias was no sooner informed of than he embarked his troops, and steering away for Sy'racuse, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himself in the outskirts of the town. 26. The Syracu'sans were so provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to Sy'racuse, and presented themselves without the walls in order of battle. Ni'cias marched out of his trenches to meet them, and a very sharp action ensued, in which the Athe'nians, at length, got the better, and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and sixty of them and their allies, with the loss of fifty of

* A town in Sicily, at the foot of Mount Etna, remarkable for the dreadful overthrows to which it had been subjected by the eruptions of that volcano.

their own men. They were not, however, yet in a condition to attack the place, and therefore took up their winter-quarters at Nax'us and Cata'na.

Questions for Examination.

1. What unjust expedition did the Athenians undertake ?
2. By whom was Sicily colonized ?
3. How was Syracuse situated ?
4. What caused Syracuse to be considered the chief of the Sicilian cities ?
5. What was the consequence of the interference of the Athenians in the affairs of Sicily ?
6. Who was the chief promoter of the Sicilian union ?
7. How was this union dissolved ?
8. Did the Egestans deceive the Athenians ?
9. What generals were appointed to manage the Syracusan war ?
10. Did any of them wish to decline the situation ?
11. What arguments did Nicias use ?
12. Was there any disparity between the forces ?
13. Was the reasoning of Nicias successful ?
14. What was the appointed place of rendezvous ?
15. What was the amount of the forces sent on this expedition ?
16. In what manner did the fleet depart ?
17. Whither did they first steer ?
18. What proposal was made by Lamachus ?
19. Was it adopted ?
20. What charges were brought against Alcibiades in his absence ?
21. Did he return to stand his trial ?
22. How was his contumacy punished ?
23. Whither did Alcibiades go ?
24. What enterprise did Nicias undertake ?
25. By what stratagem did he succeed ?
26. What was the result of the ensuing battle ?

SECTION III.

SIEGE OF SYRACUSE.

1. NEXT spring, having received a supply of horse from Athens, together with provisions and other warlike stores, Ni'cias resolved to block up the place both by sea and land. The first thing he did for this purpose was to take possession of Epip'olæ, a high hill which commanded the city, and could only be ascended by one very steep and craggy passage. 2. The Syracu'sans were so sensible of the im-

portance of this post, that they did every thing in their power to prevent his seizing it; but Ni'cias landed his troops so secretly, and so suddenly, that he made himself master of it before they were aware. He even repulsed a body of seven hundred men who were coming to dislodge him, killing three hundred of them, together with their leader. 3. Here he built a fort, and began to invest the town in such a manner as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the course of this work several skirmishes happened, in one of which Lam'achus was slain, so that the sole command now devolved upon Ni'cias. 4. The Syracu'sans made another attempt to regain this post, while Ni'cias was sick in bed, in the fort, with only his servants about him. 5. But when he found the enemy were forcing his intrenchments, he got up, and set fire to the engines, and other wood that lay scattered about the fort; which not only served as a signal to his own troops to come to his relief, but so terrified and confounded those of the enemy, that they retreated into the city.

6. From this time Ni'cias began to conceive great hopes of taking the place, the rather as several of the other cities of Sicily came over to his interest, and supplied his troops with all kinds of provisions. 7. The Syracu'sans, on their side, seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer, were already beginning to think of a surrender, nay, they had actually summoned a council to settle the terms of a capitulation, when, to their great joy and surprise, because contrary to their expectation, they saw Gylip'pus, the Lacedæmo'nian general, arrive with a force that soon relieved them from all their fears; and in a little time reduced the Athe'nians to a more deplorable situation than that in which they themselves were before placed.* 8. Gylip'pus, conscious of his own strength, and perhaps a little actuated by Spartan pride, send a herald to the Athe'nians, to acquaint them that he would allow them five days to leave Sicily. Ni'cias did not deign to give any answer to this proposal, and both sides, therefore, prepared themselves for battle.

9. In the first engagement the Spartans were defeated, chiefly on account of the narrowness of the ground where

* It was chiefly owing to the influence of Alcibiades, who was extremely active in revenging the injustice which he had experienced from his countrymen, that these Spartan succours were sent. Corinth likewise, at his instigation, assisted in the defence of Syracuse.

they fought, which was between the two walls that the Athenians had raised to invest the city ; and as this prevented Gylip'pus from extending his lines, or making use of his horse, the Athe'nians got the better. 10. Gylip'pus, however, had the magnanimity, or rather, indeed, the good policy, to take the whole blame of the miscarriage upon himself. He declared that he, and not his men, was in fault ; and that he would soon take an opportunity of recovering his honour and their own. 11. Accordingly, the very next day, attacking the enemy in a more advantageous spot, he obtained over them a more complete victory than they had gained over him : so much does the event of a battle depend upon the nature of the ground where it is fought.

12. Ni'cias, being by this means obliged to act upon the defensive, took possession of Plemmy'rium, near the great harbour, where he built three forts, and almost shut himself up in garrison, as the Lacedæmo'nians were now considerably strengthened by a reinforcement they received from Corinth. 13. In this state of affairs, Ni'cias transmitted to Athens a most melancholy account of his present situation, informing his countrymen, that instead of besieging the Syracu'sans, he himself was now besieged by them, and their allies ; that the towns revolted from him, the slaves and mercenaries deserted, and his troops were employed in guarding the forts, and bringing in provisions, in which last service many of them were cut off by the enemy's horse. 14. He added, that unless a reinforcement was sent him, equal to that with which he had originally set out, it was in vain to think of attempting any thing farther ; and, at all events, he begged that he himself might be recalled, as his health was so much impaired as to render him incapable of going on with the service. 15. This last part of his request, however, the Athenians would by no means consent to ; but they resolved to send out Euryme'don and Demos'thenes with fresh supplies ; the former immediately, with ten galleys, and the other early in the spring with a stronger force. At the same time they appointed Menan'der and Euthyde'mus as assistants to Ni'cias ; and these immediately joined him.

16. But Gylip'pus was determined to be beforehand with the Athe'nians, and to crush, if possible, the force they now had in Sicily, before the succours should arrive. For this purpose, he persuaded the Syracu'sans to hazard a battle by

sea, while he should endeavour to storm the forts of Plemmy'rium. 17. The former part of the scheme failed ; the latter succeeded. The Athe'nians had only sixty ships to oppose to eighty of the Syracu'sans ; but, as they were greatly superior to them in naval skill, they at last got the better, though victory seemed at first to incline to the side of the enemy. The Athe'nians lost three ships in the engagement ; but the Syracu'sans had nine sunk, and three taken. 18. In the mean time, Gylip'pus attacking the forts of Plemmy'rium, while many of those who defended them were gone to the shore, in order to view the sea-fight, he carried the largest of them by storm : and so intimidated the garrisons of the other two, that they immediately abandoned them.

19. Encouraged by this success, he resolved to repeat his blow before the arrival of the Athe'nian succours. He therefore persuaded the Syracu'sans to venture another battle by sea. They did so, and with a greater degree of good fortune than had attended them on the former occasion. 20. Ni'cias would willingly have declined this engagement : but he was overruled, or rather over-persuaded, by his two colleagues, Menan'der and Euthyde'mus. The Athe'nians had seventy-five galleys, the Syracu'sans eighty. 21. The first day the two fleets continued in sight of each other, without coming to a general engagement, and only a few skirmishes passed between them. The Syracu'sans did not make the least motion the second day. But on the third day they came up much sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. 22. The Athe'nians, not imagining they would return again that day, did not keep themselves in readiness to receive them. But the Syracu'sans, having refreshed themselves in great haste, and gone on board their galleys, attacked the Athe'nians unawares, and in a little time threw them into irretrievable confusion. 23. These last, indeed, would have received a much more severe blow, had they not taken shelter behind their transports, which had been previously drawn up in a line to protect them. They lost, however, on this occasion seven galleys ; and a great number of their soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the first operations of Nicias in the ensuing spring?
2. Was this post well defended?
3. What works did he construct, and what loss did he sustain?
4. Did the Syracusans repeat their attempt?
5. How did Nicias act in this emergency?
6. What was the consequence of this success?
7. Were the Syracusans dispirited, and what happened to encourage them?
8. What was Gylippus's first measure?
9. What was the event of this battle?
10. On whom did the blame fall?
11. Did he fulfil his declaration?
12. What was the consequence of this victory?
13. What report did Nicias make of his situation?
14. What further did he urge?
15. Were his requests complied with?
16. How did Gylippus endeavour to render these succours useless?
17. Were his plans successful?
18. What was his success by land?
19. Did he pursue his advantages?
20. What induced the Athenians to hazard this engagement?
21. What took place on the first day?
22. How were the Athenians thrown off their guard?
23. Was their loss great?

SECTION IV.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN EXPEDITION.

1. WHILE Ni'cias was reflecting with grief upon his present unhappy situation, and looking forward with terror to the still more melancholy prospect that lay before him, he was relieved from all his uneasiness by the arrival of Demos'thenes' fleet, which now came forward in great pomp and splendour. 2. It consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and above three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen. All the galleys were richly decorated, and their prows adorned with costly streamers; they were manned with chosen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furnished, at a vast expense, with all sorts of warlike instruments at that time in use. As they approached the shore, the sound of trumpets, mixed with repeated shouts

and loud acclamations, made the whole city resound. This air of pomp and triumph Demosthenes purposely affected, to strike terror into the enemy. 3. This was a force, which, if properly managed, might have turned the scale of victory yet once more in favour of the Athe'nians; but by the precipitancy of Demos'thenes, and the other generals, in opposition to the more cautious measures recommended by Ni'cias, it only served to heighten their disgrace and the enemy's triumph.

4. It was resolved in a council of war to attack the town immediately; and, as a previous step, to make themselves masters of Epi'polæ. 5. In their first assault upon this place, which was made by night, they stormed the outer intrenchment; but, as they were advancing towards the second, they were suddenly attacked by the forces of the city, which had marched under arms out of their lines, and were supported by Gylip'pus. 6. These, however, being seized with a panic, which the darkness increased, were soon put to flight; but a body of Bœo'tians who followed them made a more vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, repulsed them with great slaughter. 7. This spread a universal terror through the rest of the army: those who fled, either forced along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turned their arms against them: they were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible, amidst the horrors of so dark a night, to distinguish friend from foe; and death was frequently inflicted by that hand, from which, in the day-time, protection would have been received. 8. The Athenians sought for each other to no purpose; and from their often asking the word by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention that they by this means divulged their watchword to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because, by their being together, and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. 9. In the mean time, those who were pursued thrêw themselves from the tops of the rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who escaped straggled up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse, who pursued them. 10. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great quantity of arms were taken;



Nicias consulting the soothsayers.

those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

11. Thus were at once blasted all the flattering hopes which the Athenians had conceived on the arrival of Demos'thenes ; and Gylip'pus, having soon after made the tour of Sicily, and brought in with him a great number of fresh troops, acquired by that means such an undisputed superiority over the Athenians, that convinced of their utter inability to make any further head against him, they resolved immediately to abandon the island, and return to their own country.* 12. But just as they were upon the point of embarking, (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who never supposed they would quit the island so soon,) the moon was suddenly eclipsed ; and as this was a phenomenon with the real cause of which they were utterly unacquainted, they concluded it to be a prodigy or portent, and therefore dreaded the consequences. 13. It had been customary, upon former occasions, to suspend the execution of any enterprise for three days after such an accident happened : but the soothsayers, being now consulted, said that the Athenians must not sail till nine times three days were past, which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. 14. Ni'cias, scrupulous to a fault, and full

* Nicias, who dreaded the vengeance of a populace irritated by unexpected reverses, at first opposed this measure, trusting that the Syracusans, whose resources he knew to be exhausted, would propose terms of accommodation. At length, however, a pestilence broke out in the camp, and he consented to give orders for a retreat.

of a mistaken veneration for those blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not set sail till the same day of the next month.

15. The Syracu'sans, however, being informed of the intended departure of the Athenians, were determined not to let them retire in peace, and, if possible, not at all; but either to cut them off entirely, or oblige them to surrender as prisoners of war. 16. For this purpose they attacked the intrenchments immediately, and gained a slight advantage over them: the next day they made a second attack, and at the same time sailed with seventy-six galleys against eighty-six of the Athenians. 17. After an obstinate dispute the Athenians were defeated with the loss of eighteen of their ships, which were taken by the enemy, and their crews cut in pieces. Eurym'edon too, their commander, lost his life in the engagement.

18. In order to prevent their escaping by sea, the enemy shut up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed cross-wise, and other vessels, fixed with anchors and iron chains, and at the same time made the requisite preparations for a battle in case they should have courage to engage again. 19. The Athenians seeing themselves cooped up in this manner, and having no other means of procuring provisions but by being masters of the sea, were obliged to hazard another engagement upon that element. 20. Both commanders exerted all their eloquence to animate their men, and none could be actuated by stronger motives than now influenced them; for upon the issue of the battle which was about to be fought, depended not only their own lives and liberties, but even the fate of their native country. 21. This battle was more obstinate and bloody than any of the preceding ones. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took the first ships they came to: but when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, the enemy poured in upon them from all quarters. 22. As nearly two hundred galleys came rushing on each side into a narrow place, there must necessarily be very great confusion, and the vessels could not easily advance or retire, or turn about to renew the attack; the beaks of the galleys, for this reason, did little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. 23. By the advice of Ariston the Corinthian, the Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones,

which annoyed them much, killing and wounding great numbers: whereas they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships, were diverted from their aim, and seldom hit the mark at which they were levelled. 24. These discharges being over, the heavy armed soldiers attempted to board the enemy's ships, in order to fight hand to hand: and it frequently happened that, while they were climbing up one side of these, their own ships were entered on the other, so that two or three ships were sometimes grappled together, which occasioned great confusion. 25. Add to this, that the noise of the ships which dashed against one another, and the different cries of the victors and the vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being distinctly heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, in order to secure their return to their own country; and this the enemy endeavoured to prevent, that they might thereby gain a more complete victory. 26. The two land-armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, were spectators of the action, while the inhabitants of the city ran to the walls in order to behold it. All these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed, and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. 27. Attentive to, and shuddering at, every movement, and the several changes of fortune that happened, they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures: stretching out their hands sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. 28. At last the Athenian fleet, after making a long and vigorous resistance, was put to flight, and driven on shore. The Syracu'sans, on the walls, seeing their countrymen victorious, conveyed the news to the whole city by a universal shout. The victors immediately sailed towards Sy'racuse, where they erected a trophy; while the Athenians were so much dejected, that they did not even request the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers to be delivered to them, in order to honour them with the rites of burial.

Questions for Examination.

1. What removed uneasiness from the mind of Nicias ?
2. Of what did this force consist ?
3. Was this force equivalent to its object ?
4. What was resolved on ?
5. What was their success ?
6. Was their opposition vigorous ?
7. What were the consequences of this repulse ?
8. What contributed to the defeat of the Athenians ?
9. What became of the fugitives ?
10. What loss did the Athenians sustain ?
11. Was this engagement decisive ?
12. What hindered the accomplishment of their purpose ?
13. How long did this delay them ?
14. Did Nicias obey this injunction ?
15. Were they suffered to retire unmolested ?
16. How did they attempt this ?
17. What was the result of this engagement ?
18. How were they prevented escaping by sea ?
19. How did the Athenians act under these circumstances ?
20. How did they endeavour to animate the courage of the combatants ?
21. How did the engagement commence ?
22. Had they room to manage their vessels properly ?
23. In what manner were the Athenians annoyed ?
24. What followed these discharges ?
25. What increased the confusion ?
26. Who were the spectators of this encounter ?
27. How did they discover the concern they had in the battle ?
28. What was the result of the engagement ?

SECTION V.

SURRENDER OF THE ATHENIANS.

1. THERE now remained but two methods for them to choose ; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had still ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. 2. Demos'thenes recommended the former plan ; but the soldiers were so much intimidated by their late defeat, that they had not courage to undertake it. The second method was therefore adopted ; and they accordingly prepared to set out in the night, the better to conceal their march from the enemy. 3. Hermo'crates, however, the Syracu'san general, was extremely unwilling that so large a body of men (amount-

ing to nearly forty thousand) should be suffered to depart, lest they should fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. At the same time he knew it would be impossible to persuade the Syracu'sans to oppose their march that evening, as they were engaged in celebrating their late victory, and solemnizing the festival of Her'cules. 4. He therefore fell upon another expedient. He sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to tell Ni'cias not to retire till daylight, as the Syracu'sans lay in ambush for him, and had seized on all the passes.

5. Ni'cias was so weak as to believe this intelligence, and accordingly delayed his departure not only that evening, but the whole of the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their march, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence. 6. But this delay afterwards proved fatal to them; for early the next morning the enemy took possession of all the difficult avenues, fortified the banks of the rivers in those parts where they were fordable, broke down the bridges, and sent detachments of horses up and down the plain; so that there was no place which the Athenians could pass without fighting.

7. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with a design to retire to Cat'ana.* 8. Their army was divided into two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the first being commanded by Ni'cias, and the second by Demos'thenes, with the baggage in the centre. 9. In this manner they proceeded for several days, during which they were terribly harassed by the enemy, who hung upon their rear, and overwhelmed them with showers of darts and arrows, but never would stand a general engagement when the Athenians offered them battle.

10. Finding, therefore, their numbers daily decrease, and being at the same time in extreme want of provisions, they

* Nothing could be more affecting than the commencement of this retreat. Great numbers, either dead or dying, were abandoned to wild beasts or the cruelty of the enemy. Some, who were sick or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them, with many tears, to take them with the army; others, dragging themselves along, followed, as far as their strength allowed, and, when this failed, had recourse to tears and sighs, calling upon the gods as well as men to revenge this apparent cruelty; so that every place resounded with groans and mournful lamentations.

altered their plans, and, instead of continuing their march to Cat'ana, they directed their route towards Camari'na and Ge'la. 11. As this scheme was executed in the night, it was attended with so much confusion, that the rear-guard, under Demos'thenes, soon parted from the main body, and lost their way. The next day the Syracusans came up with them, and surrounded them in a narrow place; and though they defended themselves for some time with incredible bravery, yet finding it impossible to effect their escape, they were at last obliged to surrender prisoners of war, which they did upon condition that they should not be put to death, nor condemned to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand men surrendered on these terms.

12. In the mean time, Ni'cias proceeded on his march, and, crossing the river Erine'us, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy overtook him the next day, and summoned him to surrender, as Demos'thenes had done. 13. Ni'cias at first could not believe what they told him concerning Demos'thenes, and therefore begged leave to send some horse to inquire into the truth; but when he found that matters really were so, he offered to defray all the expenses of the war, provided they would suffer him to quit the island with his forces. 14. This proposal, however, was rejected by the enemy, who immediately renewed the attack; and though Ni'cias defended himself during the whole night, and even continued his march next day to the river Asina'rius, yet he was quickly pursued thither by the Syracu'sans, who drove most of the Athenians into the stream; the rest having already thrown themselves into it, in order to quench their burning thirst. 15. Here the most terrible havoc ensued;* so that Ni'cias, finding all things desperate, was obliged to surrender on this single condition, that Gylip'pus should discontinue the fight, and spare the lives of his men. 16. The lives of the men, indeed, were spared; but Ni'cias and Demos'thenes, after being scourged with rods, were cruelly put to death; a striking proof of the barbarity of the age. By this savage act, the Syracu'sans tarnished the glory they had acquired by the gallant defence of their city, and the signal victory they had won.

* So intent were they on quenching their thirst, that they took no measures to defend themselves, though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the stream. The Asinari'us was for many miles dyed with their blood, eighteen thousand Athenians having on this occasion been inhumanly slaughtered.

17. It must be owned, indeed, that Gylip'pus, and even many of the Syracu'sans themselves, did all they could to save the lives of the Athenian generals ; but the great body of the people, urged on by their orators, and particularly by Di'ocles, one of their most popular leaders, could be satisfied by nothing less than the blood of these two illustrious men.* 18. The fate of Ni''cias is the more to be lamented, as no man was ever more remarkable for humanity and good nature ; and though he headed this expedition in obedience to the commands of his countrymen, yet he did every thing in his power to prevent them from undertaking it. Demos'-thenes too was a man of so respectable a character, that the famous orator of the same name, many years after, valued himself on account of his being of the same family.

19. As to the prisoners, they were shut up in the dungeons of Sy'racuse, where many of them perished through want and bad treatment ; and those that survived, being afterwards sold for slaves, recommended themselves so strongly to their masters by their modest, prudent, and ingenuous behaviour, that many of them soon obtained their liberty. 20. Some, however, owed that favour to their being able to repeat the finest scenes of Eurip'ides' tragedies, of which the Sicilians were passionately fond : so that when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted the poet as their deliverer, and informed him of the great advantage they had derived from being acquainted with his verses.

21. The Athe'nians were so little prepared to receive the news of this defeat, or rather, indeed, they were so confident of receiving accounts of a contrary nature, that they condemned to death the man that first brought the intelligence , but when they found that matters were really worse than fame had reported, they were at once overwhelmed with grief and despair. 22. They had never indeed been reduced to so deplorable a condition as they now were, having neither horse, foot, money, ships, nor mariners ; in a word, they sunk into the deepest despondency, and expected every moment that the enemy, elate with so great a victory, and strengthened by the junction of the allies, would come

* Among others who pleaded for the lives of the Athenian commanders, Nicolaus, a venerable old man, who had lost two sons in the war, was none of the least earnest. In an eloquent and impressive speech, he entreated his countrymen to pity them in their distress : but his arguments and eloquence were alike unavailing.

and invade Athens both by sea and land with all the forces of Peloponne'sus. 23. Ci'cero, therefore, had reason to say, when speaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk, and that in this harbour the power and glory of the Athe'nians were miserably shipwrecked.

24. The Athe'nians, however, did not suffer misfortune to render them inactive, but assumed courage from despair. They raised money for building new ships; they retrenched all superfluous expenses; and they established a council of old men, to examine every matter before it was brought into the assembly of the people. In a word, they took every step that could possibly tend to retrieve their ruined affairs, or at least prevent them from growing worse. 25. But nothing could restore them to their former splendid condition; for from this time forward the Athe'nians present us with a very different picture from what they have hitherto done. We are no longer to behold them making a figure in fine arts and arms, giving lessons in politeness, humanity, philosophy, and war, to all the nations around, and aiming at the erection of an empire, which, if once thoroughly established, would have bid defiance to all the neighbouring states. 26. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of their neighbours, they are now content with defending their own territories at home: instead of directing the councils and conducting the confederate armies of Greece, they now confine all their attention to their own private affairs; they in a manner became annihilated; they fade from the eyes of the historian; and other nations, whose names have hitherto been scarcely mentioned, emerged from obscurity.

Questions for Examination.

1. What two methods remained for the Athe'nians to adopt in this extremity?
2. Which plan was chosen?
3. Were they suffered to depart unmolested?
4. By what stratagem did he delay their retreat?
5. Did this stratagem succeed?
6. What was the consequence of this delay?
7. When did they commence their march?
8. What was the order of march?
9. Was their retreat unmolested?
10. What new measure was adopted?

11. Was this alteration justified by the event ?
12. What became of Nicias in the mean time ?
13. What was the reply of Nicias ?
14. Was this proposal accepted ?
15. What occurred at this river ?
16. Were the conditions complied with ?
17. Had they no advocates in Syracuse ?
18. What rendered their fate peculiarly hard ?
19. What became of the other prisoners ?
20. Was this the case with all ?
21. How was the news received in Athens ?
22. Was their situation desperate ?
23. What was Cicero's opinion of the consequences of this miscarriage ?
24. What was the conduct of the Athenians in this distressing posture of affairs ?
25. Were their efforts effectual ?
26. What alteration took place in their conduct ?

SECTION VI.

SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

1. IT was in this deplorable state of the Athe'nian affairs, that Alcibi'ades, finding his influence with the Spartans on the decline, made proposals for returning home, provided the administration of the republic was put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. 2. In order to induce his countrymen to agree to these terms, he offered to procure them not only the favour of Tissapher'nes, the king of Persia's lieutenant with whom he had taken refuge, but even that of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy, or popular government : because the king, he said, would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than in those of the giddy and capricious multitude.* 3. The chief man, who opposed his return, was Phryn'icus, one of the generals ; who, in order to accomplish his purpose, sent word to Asty'ochus, the Lacedæmo'nian general, that Alcibi'ades was using his utmost endeavours to engage

* As Alcibi'ades, while resident at Sparta, conformed to the plain dress and coarse fare of the Lacedæmonians, so, on his taking refuge in Persia, he adopted the customs and manners of that nation, and became a great favourite with Tissaphernes, though the Satrap was a professed enemy to the Greeks.

Tissapher'nes in the Athe'nian interest, and offered to betray to him the whole army and navy of the Athe'nians. 4. But his treasonable practices being detected by the good understanding between Alcibi'ades and Asty'ochus, he was stripped of his office, and afterwards stabbed in the market-place.

5. In the mean time, the Athe'nians proceeded to complete that change of government, which had been proposed to them by Alcibi'ades; the democracy began to be abolished in several of the smaller cities, and soon after the scheme was carried boldly into execution in Athens itself, by Peisan'der, who had the chief hand in this transaction. 6. To give a new form to the government, he caused ten commissioners to be appointed, with absolute power, who were, however, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done. 7. At the expiration of that term the general assembly were summoned, in which the first resolution was, that every one should be permitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation, or consequent penalty for infringing the law. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and elect new magistrates. 8. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated one hundred persons, including themselves; each of these chose and associated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged. 9. But to amuse the people, and gratify them with the shadow of a popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said, that the four hundred would call a council of five thousand citizens to assist them, B.C. } whenever they should find it necessary. The assem-
411. } blies of the people, indeed, were still held as usual; but nothing was done in them but by order of the four hundred. 10. In this manner were the Athe'nians deprived of their liberty, after having enjoyed it almost a hundred years from the time of destroying the tyranny of the Peisistra'tidæ.

11. This decree having passed without opposition; after the breaking up of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by a hundred and twenty young men, whom they made use of when any emergency required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears of their salaries

that were still due. 12. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper, however, to recall those who had been banished, lest they should authorize the return of Alcibi'ades, whose uncontrollable spirit they dreaded, and who would soon have made himself master of the government. 13. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, they put some to death; others they banished, and confiscated their estates with impunity: all who ventured to oppose this change or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexs, even those were intimidated who demanded justice of the murderers.* 14. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos for the army's approbation of their conduct; but they protested against these proceedings in the city; and, by the persuasion of Thrasybu'lus, recalled Alcibi'ades, and created him general, with full power to sail directly to the Peiræus, and crush this new tyranny. 15. Alcibi'ades, however, would not give way to this rash opinion, but went first to show himself to Tissapher'nes, and let him know, that it was now in his power to treat with him either as a friend or an enemy; by which means he awed the Athe'nians with Tissapher'nes, and Tissapher'nes with the Athe'nians. 16. When, afterwards, the four hundred sent to Samos to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the messengers to death, and persisted in the design upon the Peiræus; but Alcibi'ades, by opposing it, manifestly saved the commonwealth.

17. Meanwhile the innovation in Athens had occasioned such factions and tumults, that the four hundred were more intent upon providing for their own safety than carrying on the war; and the better to accomplish this purpose, they fortified that part of the Peiræ'us which commands the mouth of the haven, and resolved, in case of extremity, rather to let in the Lacedæmo'nians, than expose their persons to the fury of their fellow-citizens. 18. The Spartans took occasion, from these disturbances, to hover about with forty-two galleys, under the conduct of Hegesand'rides; and the Athe'nians with thirty-six, under Timoch'ares, were forced to engage them, but lost part of their fleet, and the

* It appears, however, that this severity of the four hundred lasted no longer than till they thought themselves firmly established in power: after this, their administration was mild.

rest was dispersed: to add to their misfortunes, all Eubœ'a, except Ore'um,* revolted to the Peloponne'sians.

19. This failure of success gave the finishing blow to the power of the four hundred; the Athenians, without delay, deposed them, as the authors of all the calamities under which they groaned; Alcibi'ades was recalled by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. 20. But judging that if he returned immediately to Athens, he should owe his recall to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit.

21. For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of ships, he cruised about the islands of Cos and Cni'dos; and having learnt that Min'darus, the Spartan admiral, had sailed to the Hellespont,† with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost expedition to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels at the time the fleets were engaged, near Aby'dos, in a battle, which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. 22. His arrival gave new courage to the Spartans at first, who believed he was still their friend; but Alcibi'ades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, immediately fell upon them, and put them to flight; and pursuing his blow, sunk many of their vessels, and made a great slaughter of their soldiers, who leaped into the sea to save themselves by swimming. The Athenians, after having captured thirty of their galleys, and retaken those they had lost, erected a trophy.

23. Alcibi'ades, after this victory, went to visit Tissapher'nes, who was so far from receiving him as he expected, that he immediately caused him to be seized, and sent away to Sardis, telling him that he had orders from the king to make war upon the Athenians: but the truth is, he was afraid of being accused to his master by the Peloponne'sians, and thought, by this injustice, to purge himself from all former imputations. 24. Alcibi'ades, after thirty days, made his escape to Clazom'enæ, and soon after bore down upon the Peloponne'sian fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of Cy'zicus. With twenty of his best ships he

* A principal town in that district.

† A narrow sea, which separates Europe and Asia, and is now called the Dardanelles.

broke through the enemy, pursued those who abandoned their vessels and fled to land, and made a great slaughter. The Athenians took the enemy's whole fleet, except the Syracu'san galleys, which were burned by the Sicilian admiral, Hermoc'rates, and made themselves masters of Cy'zicus, while Myn'darus, the Lacedæmonian general, was found among the number of the slain. The result of the action was related in few, but expressive words, by Hippocrates, the second in command, in a letter written to the Spartan senate, which was intercepted by the Athenians—"All is lost, our ships are taken, Myn'darus is slain, the men want bread, we know not what to do."

25. Alcibi'ades well knew how to make use of the advantage he had gained, and, at the head of his victorious troops, took several cities which had revolted from the Athenians, among which were Chalce'don, Selym'bria, and Byzan'tium. An invasion of Sicily by the Carthagenians* prevented the Syracusans from sending succours to their allies, and thus he was enabled to avail himself of the superiority he had obtained. 26. Thus flushed with success, he seemed to desire nothing more than to be once more seen by his countrymen, as his presence would be a triumph to his friends, and an insult to his enemies. He accordingly set sail for Athens. 27. Besides the ships covered with bucklers and spoils of all sorts, in the manner of trophies, a great number of vessels were also towed after him by way of triumph; he displayed likewise the en- signs and ornaments of those he had burnt, which were more than the others, the whole amounting to about two hundred ships. { B.C.
407.

28. It is said that, upon approaching the port, and reflecting on what had been done against him, he was struck with some apprehensions, and was afraid to quit his vessel, till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the shore to receive him, and earnestly entreated him to land. 29. As soon as he was landed, the multitude, who came out to meet him, fixed their eyes upon him, thronged about him, saluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands. 30. He received their congratulations with great satisfaction; he desired to be discharged from his former condemnation, and obtained from the priests an absolution from all their former denunciations.

* See Historical Miscellany, part II. chap. I.

Questions for Examination.

1. What proposals were made by Alcibiades ?
2. What inducements did he offer ?
3. Who opposed his return ?
4. Was this treacherous offer accepted ?
5. What were the proceedings of the Athenians ?
6. What was his first measure ?
7. What was his next step ?
8. How was this to be done ?
9. What was done to amuse the people ?
10. What was the event ?
11. What coercive measures did the four hundred adopt ?
12. How did they next proceed ?
13. How did they exercise their power ?
14. Did the army approve of their government ?
15. Did Alcibiades adopt this measure ?
16. What was the conduct of the army ?
17. What were the consequences of the innovation ?
18. What farther misfortunes attended the Athenians ?
19. What consequences resulted from these failures ?
20. Did he comply with the wishes of the Athenians ?
21. What enterprise did he undertake ?
22. What happened on his arrival ?
23. Whither did Alcibiades repair after his victory ?
24. What became of Alcibiades after this ?
25. What farther enterprises did he undertake ?
26. What was his principal wish ?
27. What was the manner of his return ?
28. Did he feel no apprehension on approaching Athens ?
29. How was he received ?
30. What was his conduct on the occasion ?

SECTION VII.

SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

1. YET, notwithstanding these triumphs, the real power of Athens was now no more ; the strength of the state was gone ; and even the passion for liberty was lost in the common degeneracy of the time. 2. Many of the meaner sort of people earnestly desired Alcibi'ades to take upon him the sovereign power, and to set himself above the reach of envy, by securing all authority in his own person. 3. But the great were neither so warm nor so injudicious in their expressions of gratitude. They contented themselves with appointing him generalissimo of all their forces : they granted

him whatever he demanded, and gave him for colleagues the generals most agreeable to him. 4. He set sail accordingly, with a hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros,* that had revolted, where having defeated the inhabitants, he went to Sa'mos, intending to make that the seat of war. 5. In the mean time, the Lacedæmo'nians, alarmed at his success, made choice of a general every way qualified to make head against him. This was Lysan'der, who, though born of an illustrious family, had been inured to hardships from his earliest youth, and was strongly attached to the manners and discipline of his country. 6. He was brave, ambitious, and circumspect; but, at the same time, cunning, crafty, and deceitful; and these latter qualities prevailed so much through his whole life, that it was usually said of him, that he cheated children with foul play, and men with oaths; and it is reported to have been a maxim of his, that, when the lion's strength fails, we must make use of the subtilty of the fox.

7. Lysan'der, having brought his army to Eph'esus,† gave orders for assembling ships of burthen from all parts, and erected a dock for the building of galleys: he made the port free for merchants, and, by encouraging trade of every kind, laid the foundation of that splendour and magnificence to which Eph'esus afterwards attained. 8. Meanwhile, receiving advice that Cy'rus, the king of Persia's son, was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to pay him a visit, and at the same time to complain to him of the conduct of Tissapher'nes, whose duplicity, he said, had proved fatal to their common cause. 9. Cy'rus was sufficiently disposed to listen to any complaints against Tissapher'nes, to whom he himself had a personal enmity; he therefore came readily into the views of Lysan'der, and at his request increased the pay of the seamen. 10. The last circumstance had a surprising effect: it almost instantly unmanned the galleys of the Athenians, and supplied the Lacedæmo'nian fleet with plenty of sailors, who, without inquiring into the justice of the cause on either side, went over to that party which gave the best pay.

11. Nor was this the only misfortune which the Athe'nians now met with; for Alcibi'ades, being obliged to leave the fleet in order to raise the supplies, gave the command of it to Anti'ochus, with strict orders not to attack or engage

* An island in the Ægean sea.

† A city of Ionia, famous for a splendid temple of Diana.

the enemy in his absence. 12. But Anti'ochus, desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action before the return of Alcibi'ades, sailed directly for Eph'esus, and used every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement. 13. Lysan'der at first contented himself with sending out a few ships to repel his insults; but the Athenian galleys advancing to support their commander, other Lacedæmo'nian vessels likewise came on, till at last both fleets arrived, and the engagement became general. After a sharp struggle, Lysan'der obtained the victory, having killed Antio'chus, and taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys. 14. It was in vain that Alcibi'ades soon after came up to the relief of his friends; it was in vain that he offered to renew the combat; Lysan'der was too wise to hazard the advantage he had gained by venturing on a second engagement.

15. This misfortune proved fatal to the reputation of Alcibi'ades, though indeed it was his own glory that ruined him: for the people, from his uninterrupted success, had conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that they thought it impossible for him to fail in any thing he seriously undertook. Thrasybu'lus, who had been one of the most zealous in procuring his restoration, now appeared as his accuser, and asserted, probably not without foundation, that Alcibi'ades was lavishing the treasures of the state in extravagant debauchery, and was erecting a castle on the coast of Thrace, in which he might take refuge from the just vengeance of the republic. In consequence of this, Alcibi'ades was ordered to resign the command of the fleet, and return home to stand his trial. Dreading the fury of the Athenian populace, he would not obey the summons, but fled for safety to his Thracian castle.

16. About the same time, Callicrat'idas was appointed to succeed Lysan'der, whose year was expired. This man was equal to his predecessor in courage, and greatly superior in probity and justice, being as open and ingenuous as the other was cunning and crafty. 17. His first attempt was against Methym'na in Lesbos, which he took by storm. He then pursued Co'non, who had succeeded Alcibi'ades, into the port of Mityl'ne with a hundred and seventy sail, took thirty of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions. 18. He soon after took ten ships more out of twelve that were coming to the relief of Conon. Then, hearing that the Athenians had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail,

he left fifty of his ships under Eteoni'cus, to carry on the siege of Mityle'ne, and with a hundred and twenty more met the Athenians at Arginu'sæ, over against Lesbos.*

19. His pilot, advising him to retreat because the enemies were superior in number, "Sparta," replied he, "will be never the worse inhabited though I should be slain." The fight accordingly was immediately begun, and was maintained for a long time with equal bravery on both sides, till at last the ship of Callicrat'idas, charging through the midst of the enemy, was sunk, and the rest fled. 20. The Peloponne'sians lost about seventy sail, and the Athenians twenty-five, with most of the men in them.

21. The Athenian admirals, instead of being rewarded for the victory they had gained, were severely punished for a supposed neglect of duty. They were accused of not having done their utmost to save their men who had been shipwrecked; and they were accordingly sent home in irons, to answer for their conduct. They alleged, in their defence, that they were pursuing the enemy; and that they gave orders about taking up the men to those whose business it more particularly was; particularly to Therame'nes, who now appeared against them; but that their orders could not be executed, on account of a violent storm which happened at that time.† 23. This plea seemed so satisfactory, that several stood up and offered to bail them; but in another assembly the popular incendiaries demanded justice, and so awed the judges, that Soc'rates was the only man who had courage enough to declare that he would do nothing contrary to law, and accordingly refused to act. 24. After a long debate, eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them were put to death; among whom was Per'icles, son of the great statesman of the same name. 25. He maintained that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders for the dead bodies to be taken up; that if any one was guilty, it was Therame'nes himself, who, being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them into

* Some writers say that the force of the Lacedæmonians was likewise a hundred and fifty ships, which is probable, if they added the thirty lately taken from the Athenians to the former force.

† The Athenian admirals, before they sailed in pursuit of the enemy, left fifty galleys with Theramenes and Thrasybulus, expressly for the pious purpose of rescuing the dead bodies from the waves. Thus the ingratitude and injustice of the Athenians seem as surprising as they were monstrous.

execution : but that he accused nobody, and that the tempest, which came on unexpectedly at the very instant, was a sufficient apology, and entirely freed the accused from all guilt. 26. He demanded that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence in which the lives of the most illustrious citizens were concerned ; that it was in some measure attacking the gods, to make them responsible for the winds and weather ; they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, inflict death upon the conquerors, to whom they ought rather to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them ; that if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed by a sudden but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal infamy.

27. Among the number also was Diome'don, a person eminent for his valour and probity. As they were carrying him to execution, he demanded to be heard. 28. "Athenians," said he, "I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic : but I have one favour to ask of you in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is, to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them ; for it is to their aid invoked before the battle, that we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." 29. There was not a good citizen that did not melt into tears at this discourse, so full of piety and religion, and behold with surprise the moderation of a person, who, seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not express the least resentment, nor even utter a complaint against his judges, but was solely intent in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to perish, for an imputed fault which it was impossible for them to avoid.*

Questions for Examination.

1. Did the late successes restore prosperity to Athens ?
2. What was the wish of the common people ?

* The names of those who suffered were Diome'don, Thrasy'lus, Calli'ades, Lys'ias, Aristoc'rates, and Per'icles.

3. What was the conduct of the higher ranks ?
4. What was his first exploit ?
5. What steps were taken to check his career ?
6. What was the character of Lysander ?
7. What were the first measures of Lysander ?
8. What was his next proceeding ?
9. Did Cyrus listen to these complaints ?
10. What was the effect of this liberality ?
11. Was this the only misfortune that befell them ?
12. Were his orders obeyed ?
13. What was the conduct of Lysander on the occasion ?
14. Did Alcibiades repair this disaster ?
15. What was the consequence of this misfortune ?
16. Who was appointed to succeed Lysander ?
17. What were his first exploits ?
18. Did he follow up his successes ?
19. What was the advice of his pilot, and his reply ?
20. What was the event of the battle ?
21. What was the recompense of the victorious admirals ?
22. What was their defence ?
23. Was their defence satisfactory ?
24. What was the result ?
25. What observation did he make
26. What farther did he represent ?
27. Who else was among the number ?
28. Repeat his speech.
29. What was the effect of this speech ?

SECTION VIII.

SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR, CONTINUED.

1. THIS complication of injustice and ingratitude gave the finishing blow to the affairs of the Athenians ; they struggled for a while after the defeat at Sy'racuse, but from this time they rapidly declined, though seemingly in the arms of victory. 2. The enemy, after their defeat, had once more recourse to Lysan'der, who had so often led them to conquest ; in him they placed their chief confidence, and earnestly solicited his return. 3. The Lacedæmo'nians, therefore, to gratify their allies, and yet to observe their laws, which forbade that honour being twice conferred on the same person, sent him with an inferior title, but with the power of admiral. 4. Thus appointed, Lysan'der sailed towards the Hel'lespont, and laid siege to Lamp'sacus,* which he

* Now Lamaski, a town of Asia Minor, to the north of Abydos.

took by storm, and abandoned to the mercy of the soldiers. 5. The Athenians, who followed him close, upon the news of his success, steered forward toward Oles'tus, and thence, sailing along the coast, halted over against the enemy at Æ'dos Pot'amos, or the goat's river, a town situated on a small river of the same name in the Thracian Chersone'sus, a place fatal to the Athenians.

6. The Hel'lespont is not above two thousand paces broad in that place. The two fleets, seeing themselves so near to each other, expected only to rest that day, and hoped to come to an engagement on the next. 7. But Lysan'der had another design in view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board the galleys, and hold themselves in readiness, as if they were really to fight next morning. He likewise commanded the land army to be drawn up in battle array upon the coast, and to wait his orders in profound silence. 8. On the morrow, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians rowed towards them with their whole fleet, and offered them battle; which, however, Lysan'der did not think proper to accept, even though his ships were ranged in perfect order, with their heads towards the enemy. 9. The Athenians, ascribing this conduct to fear or cowardice, retired in the evening, and thinking they were in no danger, went ashore to amuse and regale themselves, as if no enemy had been nigh. Of this last circumstance Lysan'der was fully informed, by some galleys he sent out to observe their motions. 10. To throw them, therefore, into still greater security, and to put them more off their guard, he allowed the three following days to pass in the same manner, during each of which the Athenians came regularly up and offered him battle, which he as regularly persisted to decline.

11. In the mean time, Alcibi'ades, who since his disgrace had lived in Thrace, and was much better acquainted with the character of the Lacedæmo'nians, and particularly with that of Lysan'der, than the present Athenian generals, came and warned them of their danger: he even offered, with a body of Thracian troops, to attack the enemy by land, and thus force them to a battle. 12. But the Athenian generals, jealous of their honour, and fearing that if the event proved successful, Alcibi'ades would enjoy all the glory, and if otherwise, that the whole blame would fall upon them, not only refused his assistance, but even rejected his salutary

advice.* 13. The consequence was, that, on the evening of the fifth day, when they had retired as usual, and their men were all gone on shore, and dispersed up and down the country, Lysan'der came suddenly upon them with his whole force, and attacking them in this unprepared and defenceless condition, easily made a capture of their whole fleet, except nine galleys, (including the sacred ship,) with which Co'non contrived to escape to Cy'prus, where he took refuge with Evag'oras, king of Sal'amis, the principal city in that island, who had been long remarkable for his love of the Athenians. 14. This was one of the most masterly strokes of generalship that ever was performed in ancient, or perhaps even in modern times; for by it Lysan'der, in the space of an hour, put an end to a war that had already lasted twenty-seven years, and but for him would probably have lasted much longer.

15. The number of prisoners amounted to three thousand, and the fate of these is a shocking proof of the barbarous manners of the age; these unhappy men were instantly put to death, though this was said to be only by way of retaliation; for that the Athenians had caused to be thrown down a precipice all the men that were taken in two Lacedæmonian galleys, and had likewise made a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. 16. Philoc'les, the chief author both of this barbarous act and this severe decree, was now called upon to show what he could urge in his defence, when he haughtily replied—"Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges, but as you are victors use your right, and do by us as we had done by you if we had conquered." The only person who was saved out of the whole number was Adiaman'tus, who had opposed the decree.

17. The Athenians were no sooner informed of the entire defeat of their army, than they were overwhelmed with consternation. They already thought they saw Lysan'der at their gates: nor was it long before he came there. 18. But before he did so, he commanded all the Athenians

* The manner in which his advice and assistance were rejected was insulting in the extreme. They told him that they wondered at his assurance, who was an exile and a vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening, if he came any more, to seize him and send him to Athens.

that were scattered up and down in different parts of Greece, to take shelter in Athens on pain of death. This he did with a design so to crowd the city, that he might be able soon to reduce it by famine. 19. His scheme succeeded ; for Agis and Pausa'nias, the two kings of Sparta, having besieged it by land, and Lysan'der himself blocking it up by sea, the wretched Athenians, after undergoing the most intolerable hardships, were driven to such extremity, that they sent deputies to Agis, with offers of abandoning all their possessions, their city and port only excepted. 20. The haughty Lacedæmo'nians referred their deputies to the state itself ; and when these suppliants made known their commission to the Eph'ori, they were ordered to depart, and come again with other proposals, if they expected peace.

21. At length Therame'nes, an Athenian, undertook to manage the treaty with Lysander ; and after a conference, which lasted three months, he received full powers to treat at Lacedæ'mon. 22. When he, attended by nine others, arrived before the Eph'ori, some of the confederates represented the necessity of destroying Athens entirely, without listening to any further proposals. 23. But the Lacedæmo'nians would not consent to the destruction of a city which had preserved the general independence of Greece in the most critical juncture : they therefore agreed to a peace upon these conditions : that the long walls and fortifications of the Peiræ'eus should be demolished ; that they should deliver up all their ships but twelve ; that they should restore their exiles ; that they should make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmo'nians, and serve them in all their expeditions, both by sea and land.

24. Therame'nes, being returned with the articles to Athens, was asked why he acted in a manner so contrary to the intentions of Themis'tocles, and gave those walls into the hands of the Lacedæmo'nians which he built in defiance of them ?

25. "I have my eye," said he, "upon Themis'tocles' design ; he raised those walls for the preservation of the city, and I for the very same reason would have them destroyed ; for if walls only secure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very bad condition." 26. Such an answer would not have satisfied the Athenians at any other time ; but, being now reduced to the last extremity, it did not admit of a long debate whether they should accept the treaty.

B.C. } 27. At last Lysan'der, coming to the Peiræ'eus, de-
404. } molished the walls with great solemnity, and all the

insulting triumphs of music.* Thus was a period put to the famous Peloponnesian war, the longest, the most expensive, and the most bloody, in which Greece had ever been engaged.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the situation of the Athenians after their defeat at Syracuse?
2. To whom did the enemy have recourse?
3. Was Lysander again appointed?
4. What was his first enterprise?
5. How did the Athenians act on the occasion?
6. Were the hostile fleets near each other?
7. Were their hopes fulfilled?
8. What happened on the morrow?
9. To what was this conduct ascribed by the Athenians?
10. What farther steps did Lysander take?
11. By whom were the Athenian troops warned of their danger?
12. How were his offers received?
13. What was the consequence?
14. Was this a masterly manœuvre?
15. How were the prisoners treated?
16. How did the authors of these cruelties behave in adversity?
17. How did the Athenians receive the news of this calamity?
18. What previous measures did he adopt?
19. Was his scheme successful?
20. Were their offers accepted?
21. Who undertook to manage the treaty?
22. What measures were represented as necessary?
23. Did the Lacedæmonians adopt this harsh expedient?
24. How were these terms received?
25. What was Theramenes' answer?
26. Was this answer satisfactory?
27. Was it executed?

* This mortifying occurrence took place on the very day of the year on which the Athenians beat the Persians at Salamis.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEMOLITION OF THE ATHENIAN POWER TO THE
PEACE OF AUTALCIDAS.

SECTION I.

THE THIRTY TYRANTS.

1. **THOUGH** the Lacedæmo'nians would not consent to the entire destruction of Athens, as they would not be guilty, they said, of putting out one of the eyes of Greece, yet they not only reduced it to the lowest condition in point of political consequence, but even altered the form of its government; for they compelled the people to abolish the democracy, and submit to the government of thirty men, who were commonly known by the name of the thirty tyrants. 2. Instead of compiling and publishing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence for their being chosen, they began to exercise a power of life and death; and though they appointed a senate, and other magistrates, they made no farther use of them than to confirm their own authority, and see their commands executed. At first, it is true, they proceeded with some caution, and condemned only the most profligate sort of citizens, viz. such as lived by informing and giving evidence against their neighbours. But this was only to blind the eyes of the populace; their real design was to make themselves absolute: and, as they well knew that this could not be done without a foreign power, they next contrived to have a guard sent from Sparta. This guard was commanded by one Callib'ius, whom they soon won over to their designs; and from this time forward they proceeded to act without control, filling the city with the blood of those, who, on account of their riches, interests, or good qualities, were most likely to oppose them.

3. One of their first acts of cruelty was to procure the death of Alcibi'ades, who had taken refuge in the dominions of Persia. This man, though driven from his country, did not cease to interest himself in its welfare; and the tyrants, dreading that, by his popularity at Athens, where he was still much beloved, he would thwart all their schemes, entreated the Lacedæmo'nians to rid them of so formidable



Death of Alcibiades.

an opponent. This request the Lacedæmo'nians had the meanness to comply with, and accordingly wrote to Pharnaba'zus, the Persian governor, for that purpose. 4. The satrap had always envied the illustrious Athenian, and was now particularly anxious for his destruction, as Alcibi'ades had penetrated the secret of the rebellion designed by the Persian prince Cy'rus against his brother, and had revealed it to Pharnabazus, who was anxious to possess the undivided merit of the discovery at the court of Artaxerxes. 5. The manner of this great man's death did not disgrace the high character for courage he had maintained during life. The assassins sent against him were afraid to attack him openly: they, therefore, surrounded the house in which he was, and set it on fire. Alcibi'ades forced his way through the flames, sword in hand, and drove the barbarians before him, not one of whom had the courage to oppose him; but all of them discharging their darts and javelins upon him from a distance, he at last fell covered with wounds, and expired. Timan'dra, his mistress, took up his body, and having covered and adorned it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it as her present circumstances would allow.

6. The tyrants, though eased of their apprehensions from this quarter, began to dread an opposition from another, that is, from the general body of the people, whom they well knew to be dissatisfied with their conduct: they, therefore, invested three thousand citizens with some part of their power, and by their assistance kept the rest in awe. En-

couraged by such an accession of strength, they soon proceeded to still greater extremities than any they had hitherto ventured on; they agreed to single out every one his man to put him to death, and seize his estate for the maintenance of their guard.

7. Therame'nes, one of their number, was struck with horror at their proceedings: Crit'ias, therefore, the principal author of this detestable resolution, thought it necessary to take him out of the way, and he accordingly accused him to the senate of endeavouring to subvert the government.

8. The eloquent defence of the accused produced a great effect on the assembly, and would have led to his acquittal, had not Crit'ias surrounded the place of trial with armed men, who significantly exhibited the points of their daggers, and thus terrified the senate into a verdict of guilty. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon him, and he was obliged to drink the juice of hemlock, the usual mode of execution at that time in Athens. 9. His fate would have deserved greater commiseration, had he not been himself the foremost in procuring the judicial murder of the admirals who had gained the battle of Arginu'sæ. Soc'rates, whose disciple he had been, was the only person of the senate who ventured to appear in his defence; he made an attempt to rescue him out of the hands of the officer of justice, and after his execution, went about as it were in defiance of the thirty, exhorting and animating the senators and citizens against them.

10. The tyrants, thus freed from the opposition of a colleague whose presence was a continual reproach to them, set no longer any bounds to their cruelty and rapacity. Nothing was now heard of but imprisonments, confiscations, and murders; every one trembled for himself or his friends, and, amidst the general consternation which had seized the citizens on account of their personal danger, all hope seems to have been lost of recovering public liberty.

11. The Lacedæmo'nians, not content with supporting the thirty tyrants in the exercise of their cruelty, were unwilling to let any of the Athenians escape from their hands. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that such of them as fled should be delivered up to the thirty, and condemned all those who contravened this edict to pay a fine of five talents.

12. Two cities only, Meg'ara* and Thebes,† rejected with

* The capital of Megaris.

† The capital of Bœotia.

disdain so unjust an ordinance. The latter went still further, and published a decree, that every house and city in Bœotia should be open and free for any Athe'nian that desired protection, and that whoever did not assist a fugitive Athe'nian who was seized, should be fined a talent. 13. Thrasyb'ulus, a man of an amiable character, who had long deplored the miseries of his country, was now the first to relieve it. At Thebes he held a consultation with his fellow-citizens, and the result was, that some attempt, with whatever danger it might be attended, should certainly be made for restoring the public liberty. Accordingly, with a party of thirty men only, as Ne'pos says, but as Xen'ophon more probably relates of nearly seventy, he seized upon Phy'le, a strong castle on the frontier of Attica. 14. This enterprise alarmed the tyrants, who immediately marched out of Athens with their three thousand followers, and their Spartan guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulsed with loss. Finding they could not carry it by a sudden assault, they resolved upon a siege; but not being sufficiently provided for that purpose, and a great snow falling in the night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard to prevent any further incursions into the country.

15. Encouraged by this success, Thrasyb'ulus no longer kept upon the defensive, but marching out of Phy'le, by night, at the head of a thousand men, made himself master of Peiræ'eus. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle ensued; but as the soldiers on one side fought with spirit and ardour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of their oppressors, the victory was not long doubtful, but followed the better cause: the tyrants were overthrown; Crit'ias was killed upon the spot; and as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thrasyb'ulus cried out, "Wherefore do you fly from me as a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens: neither have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants." He entreated them to remember, that they had the same origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to pity their exiled brethren, to restore them to their country, and resume their liberty themselves. This discourse had the desired effect. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and substituted ten persons

to govern in their room, whose conduct, however, proved no better than that of their predecessors.

16. Though the government was thus altered, and the thirty deprived of their power, they still had hopes of being reinstated in their former authority, and sent deputies to Sparta to demand aid. Lysander was for granting it to them; but Pausanias, who then reigned in Sparta, moved with compassion at the deplorable condition of the Athenians, favoured them in private, and obtained a peace for them.* it was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to restore themselves to power, were put to the sword, and Athens left in full possession of its liberty.

B.C. } 17. Thrasybulus then proposed an amnesty, by
403. } which the citizens engaged upon oath that all past actions should be buried in oblivion. The government was re-established upon its ancient footing, the laws recovered their former vigour, the magistrates were elected with the usual ceremonies, and democracy was once more restored to this unfortunate people. These events took place in the archonship of Euclides, and hence the phrase, "before Euclides," became a proverbial expression for events beyond the time of legal memory.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did the Lacedæmonians treat the Athenians?
2. In what manner did the thirty tyrants behave?
3. Of what illustrious person were the tyrants afraid?
4. Why was Pharnabazus jealous of Alcibiades?
5. How was Alcibiades slain?
6. Did the tyrants share their power with any portion of the people?
7. Why did Theramenes incur the hatred of his associates?
8. Does any circumstance diminish our pity for his fate?
9. How did Socrates prove his courage and love of justice?
10. Did the tyrants persevere in cruelty?
11. How did the Lacedæmonians act?
12. Did any of the Grecian states shelter the Athenians?
13. Who attempted the liberation of Athens?
14. Did the enterprise succeed?
15. By what prudent conduct did Thrasybulus engage the army to dethrone the tyrants?
16. On whom did the tyrants depend for succour?
17. How was the state of Athens finally settled?

* Pausanias, it is probable, was more actuated by envy of Lysander than by compassion for the Athenians, in his opposition to the plans of that general. Whatever might be his motive, however, Athens owed to him that she was not annexed to the dominions of Sparta.



Socrates taking leave of his family in Prison.

SECTION II.

THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

1. THE many revolutions which had lately taken place in the Athenian form of government, and the gross injustice with which trials involving party feeling had been conducted, produced a very injurious effect on the minds of the people, and made them the easy dupes of orators, who flattered their vanity, and inflamed their passions. This was fatally experienced by Socrates, the wisest and best of the Athenian philosophers, who found that neither the innocence of his life, nor his abstinence from public affairs, could protect him from the envy and malice of his enemies. 2. He had been originally the son of a sculptor, and is said to have worked as a statuary in his early life ; but he deserted this occupation for the study of philosophy, and avoiding the idle disquisitions of his contemporaries, aimed at forming such a system of morals as might best contribute to the happiness of individuals, and the security of the state. 3. There were then in Athens a number of public lecturers called Sophists, who professed to instruct youth in eloquence and reasoning ; they regarded truth as a matter of indifference, and declared themselves ready to maintain any assertion, however false or absurd, by their skill in argument. Such men could not fail of procuring a great number of followers in a popular state like Athens, where every thing was decided in the public assemblies. 4. In consequence a great

laxity of principle became every where apparent, for nothing is more pernicious than the habit of defending falsehood, and the profligacy of the public men at Athens, in attacking innocence and screening guilt, was as notorious as it was abominable. 5. Socrates was a formidable antagonist of the Sophists, whose quibbles he overthrew by his strong common sense ; but he thus raised up against himself a body of powerful enemies, eager to destroy one who thus curtailed their profitable employment, and very unscrupulous in the use of means by which their object might be effected. 6. Though Socrates always abstained as much as possible from interfering in the affairs of state, we find him coming forward on two memorable occasions, to prevent his countrymen from committing great crimes ; he defended the admirals for their pretended misconduct at Arginu'sæ against the infuriate violence of the populace ; and he boldly protested against the illegal murder of Therame'nes by the thirty tyrants. His intrepidity was exhibited in vain, and he provoked on both occasions the hostility of a great number, who eagerly sought an opportunity for his destruction.

7. At length these rhetoricians or teachers of oratory, } Meli'tus, Any'tus, and Ly'con, accused Socrates be-
 400. } fore the people, of introducing strange gods, and of corrupting the youth. 8. This charge should legally have been heard before the court of Areopagus, but the accusers contrived that it should be tried in the Heli'æa, a court composed of about five hundred judges, selected indifferently from the great body of the people. 9. The friends and disciples of Socrates were greatly alarmed at the danger to which he was exposed, but he himself remained perfectly unmoved ; he rejected the elaborate defence which had been prepared for him by Ly'sias, and replied to the charges of his accusers with a firmness which enraged his judges, who were accustomed to see criminals solicit their mercy. 10. He was found guilty by a majority of three voices. On being asked, according to the strange custom of Athens, to name his punishment, he demanded to be maintained in the Prytanei'um at the public expense. This completed the indignation of the judges, and they immediately sentenced him to drink hemlock, the usual manner of executing state criminals.

11. It happened that the day before his trial, the high priest had crowned the stern of the vessel sent annually to De'los to commemorate the liberation of Athens by 'The-

seus ; from the performance of this ceremony until the return of the vessel, it was unlawful to execute any criminal in Athens. Socrates employed this long interval in delivering to his pupils those beautiful moral lessons which form the principal charm of the dialogues of Pla'to. During these thirty days, several plans of escape were projected, but he steadily spurned such offers, and when at length the fatal vessel returned, he submitted to the unjust sentence with the greatest firmness and resignation. The persecution raised against Socrates extended also to his disciples, who were forced to seek safety in exile ; but in a few years tardy justice was done to his memory ; the Athenians, too late perceiving their error, turned their anger against those by whom they had been instigated to commit such a crime. 12. Of those who brought about the condemnation of Socrates, some were executed, others banished, and many unable to bear the popular odium committed suicide : while the Athenian people, passing from one extreme to the other, erected a chapel to Socrates, and superstitiously honoured him as a god whom they had unjustly condemned as a criminal.

13. While these events took place in Athens, Asia was the scene of a brief but glorious struggle, which greatly raised the character of the Greeks for valour and conduct. Cy'rus, the younger son of Dari'us No'thus, the Persian king, had from his infancy shown far superior powers of thought and action, to those of his elder brother, Artaxerxes ; his mother, Parysa'tis, had vainly laboured to persuade Darius to change the order of succession in his favour, but the old king steadily refusing, she only succeeded in stimulating the ambition of one son, and awakening the jealousy of the other. 14. Soon after the death of Dari'us, Artaxerxes, at the instigation of Tissapher'nes, threw Cyrus into prison, and would have put him to death, but for the intercession of his mother. At her request, Cyrus was not only pardoned, but restored to the government of lesser Asia, which he had held in the lifetime of his father. 15. As during his former administration, he had been of the most essential service to the Spartans, and was indeed the principal cause of their great success, he found it easy to renew his alliance with that people, while at the same time he conciliated the Asiatic Greeks by the justice and mildness of his administration. But the memory of the insult he had suffered, and the danger he had escaped, still rankled in the bosom of

Cyrus; he resolved to dethrone his brother, and for this purpose, obtained from the Lacedæmonians permission to enlist soldiers in Greece, while he silently assembled an army in Asia. 16. The desired leave was granted, a body amounting to about thirteen thousand were collected, under the command of Clear'chus, from the different states of Greece; several young men of rank joined as volunteers, amongst whom was Xen'ophon, the disciple of Socrates, who has left us a most interesting narrative of the expedition.

B.C. } 17. Though Artaxerxes had received frequent
400. } warnings of his danger, he seems to have neglected every preparation for resistance, since the army of Cyrus marched almost without opposition into the very heart of the Persian empire. At length, when the invaders reached the plains of Cynax'a, within a day's march of Babylon, they suddenly learned that the army of Artaxerxes was in their neighbourhood. Immediate preparations were made for battle, and a fierce engagement ensued. 18. The Greeks totally defeated the wing of the Persians to which they were opposed, but their victory was rendered useless by the death of Cyrus, who, irritated to madness by the sight of his brother, had attacked the royal guard, accompanied only by his personal attendants, and had fallen in the encounter.

19. The victorious Greeks, on returning to their camp, were surprised to find that it had been plundered, and that no intelligence had been received from Cyrus. The night was spent in great anxiety, but the following morning they became acquainted with the extent of their misfortune. They sent to Ariæ'us, the lieutenant of Cyrus, offering to place him on the throne of Persia, but the satrap judiciously refused, and advised them to join him in retreating to lesser Asia. 20. In the mean time, a herald arrived from Artaxer'xes, commanding the Greeks to surrender their arms, which they indignantly refused; this was followed by a second message of a different nature, proposing to treat about the safe conduct of the Greeks to their native land. This negotiation was protracted for twenty days by the artful Tissaphernes, during which time he successfully laboured to persuade Ariæus to purchase a pardon from the king, by deserting the Greeks. 21. Soon after Tissaphernes invited the Grecian commanders to a conference, and treacherously murdered them.

22. The situation of the Greeks, when they learned the

perfidious assassination of their leaders, was the most deplorable that can be conceived. They were more than twelve hundred miles from home, surrounded by lofty mountains, deep and rapid rivers, by powerful enemies and perfidious friends, without provisions, without horses, and without leaders. Yet they overcame all these difficulties, under the guidance of the new generals* whom they elected; they fought their way through the great extent of the Persian empire, and made their retreat, commonly called the retreat of the ten thousand, one of the most celebrated exploits recorded in military annals.

Questions for Examination.

1. What evil effects were produced by the repeated revolutions in Athens?
2. Who was Socrates?
3. What pernicious class of public instructors existed in Athens?
4. Did any evil result from the teaching of the Sophists?
5. By whom were the Sophists opposed?
6. Did Socrates ever interfere in public affairs?
7. Who were the accusers of Socrates?
8. Was the trial of Socrates strictly legal?
9. Did Socrates make an elaborate defence?
10. How did Socrates irritate his judges?
11. Why was the execution of the sentence delayed?
12. Did the Athenians repent of their injustice to Socrates?
13. By whom were the seeds of enmity sown between the sons of Darius and Nothus?
14. What additional circumstance increased the hostility of Cyrus against his brother?
15. To whom did Cyrus apply for assistance?
16. By whom were the Grecian auxiliaries commanded?
17. Where did the two armies come to an engagement?
18. What was the event of the battle?
19. How did the Greeks act when they heard of the death of Cyrus?
20. Did the Persians make any proposals to the Grecian auxiliaries?
21. What act of treachery was perpetrated by the Persians?
22. Why is this retreat so celebrated?

* The principal were Chorisophus the Spartan, and Xenophon the Athenian.

SECTION III.

THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

1. THE consequences of the defeat of Cy'rus were extensively felt in Asia and Europe. Artaxer'xes was naturally indignant with the Lacedæmonians for the assistance they had given to Cy'rus in his rebellion, and issued orders to Tissapher'nes to attack the Asiatic states that were in alliance with Sparta. The satrap proceeded with the 398. } troops which he had used in harassing the retreat of the Greeks into Æo'lia, and there laid siege to several cities which the Spartans had garrisoned. 2. When the news of this reached Greece, Thim'bron was sent into Asia with a small body of troops, which he was ordered to increase by taking into his pay the surviving remnant of the ten thousand. 3. These soldiers, after their brilliant retreat from Asia, had been taken into the service of Seu'thes, king of Thrace, and had enabled him to triumph over all his enemies; but the ungrateful Thracian refused to pay them the stipulated reward. They were now reduced to great distress, and it was therefore with feelings of great pleasure, that Xen'ophon led six thousand men, the remnant of that gallant army, to serve under the Spartans. 4. Thim'bron, though partially successful, kept such lax discipline, that his soldiers were as formidable to their friends as their enemies. The allies sent deputies to Sparta complaining of the evils which they suffered, and in compliance with their request the command of the army was transferred to Dercyl'lidas, a general equally remarkable for his valour and integrity. 5. Under the guidance of their new leader, the Spartans made rapid progress, and subdued a great portion of lesser Asia. At length the satraps, Pharnaba'zus and Tissapher'nes, having collected a very numerous army, advanced towards Ephe'sus. Dercyl'lidas having reinforced himself with the troops of the Asiatic Greeks, prepared to meet him, but the mutual distrust of both generals in their followers, prevented an engagement. 6. Dercyl'lidas found that he could rely only on his European soldiers, while the army of Tissapher'nes, remembering the valour of The Ten Thousand, hesitated to engage with any Grecian troops. Negotiations for peace were commenced, but during their

progress, Tissapher'nes was engaged in collecting reinforcements, and especially in preparing a powerful fleet in the ports of Phœni'cia. The Spartans, having discovered the treachery of the satrap, were enraged with Dercyl'lidas for having been so easily duped, and therefore transferred the command of the Asiatic army to their young sovereign Agesila'us.

7. A'gis, the late king of Sparta, having very good reason to suspect the fidelity of his wife, had long refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of her son Leoty'chides; but on his death-bed he changed his mind, and declared him the lawful inheritor of the crown. The Spartans, however, were not satisfied with this late recognition; they set aside Leoty'chides, and raised to the throne Agesila'us, the younger brother of their late sovereign. 8. Lysander had a principal share in procuring this decision; the universal jealousy and resentment which his own wanton abuse of power had excited, prevented him from attaining political eminence himself; but his influence in behalf of others was still powerful. 9. The form and appearance of Agesilaus were mean and diminutive, but the powers of his mind more than compensated for the defects of his person; his character was vigorous and energetic, his military talent of the very highest order, and his abilities as a statesman still more conspicuous. Truth compels us to add, that his moral character was not equally honourable; in cunning treachery and artifice, he rivalled Lysander himself, and was full as unscrupulous in the use of any means by which he might obtain the objects of his ambition.

10. Agesila'us passed over into Asia, at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by thirty Spartan senators, at the head of whom was Lysander. The young king treated his benefactor, whom he dreaded as a rival, with signal ingratitude; the measures of Lysander were continually thwarted, his proposals heard with studied contempt, until at length wearied out, he returned home disappointed and disgraced. 11. During two glorious campaigns, Agesila'us shook the Persian throne to its very foundation, and would probably have anticipated Alexander in the destruction of that empire, had he not been called home by the news of fresh disturbances in Greece. A little before his return, he removed Pha'rax, one of the ablest of the Spartan admirals, and gave the command to Pei'sander, a

creature of his own, possessing indeed great bravery, but totally destitute of skill in naval affairs.

12. Ever since the overthrow of the Athe'nian power, the Spartans had been the undisputed masters of Greece, and had exercised their power so tyrannically, that their name became odious to both their old and their new confederates. Artaxerxes, unable to resist the progress of Agesila'us in Asia, sent over large sums of money to bribe the leaders of several Grecian states, and these hireling orators declaimed in every city against the pride and cruelty of Sparta. 13. The The'bans were the first who manifested their hostility by sending assistance to the Lo'crians against the Pho'cians, then in alliance with the Lacedæmo'nians. With their usual haughty rashness, the Lacedæmonian senate, without even condescending to remonstrate, sent Lysan'der to invade Bœo'tia, and assembled a second army under king Pausa'nias to ensure the complete subjugation of the country. 14. Lysan'der having taken some of the smaller towns, laid siege to Haliar'tus, but perceiving the strength of its fortifications, he sent a trusty messenger to hasten the arrival of Pausa'nias. The letter was intercepted by the Thebans, who immediately prepared an ambush, and then, by exhibiting every sign of fear, induced Lysan'der to attack the town without waiting for his sovereign. The artifice succeeded; Lysander on his approach to the town was surprised by a sudden and vigorous sally of the garrison; he was slain in the very first onset, and before his followers could recover from their confusion, their rear was assaulted by those who had been placed in ambush, and they fell or fled without resistance. Late in the day Pausa'nias arrived on the field of action; but finding the calamity irremediable, he sent to the Thebans for permission to bury the dead, thus according to the Grecian form acknowledging their claim to victory.

B.C. } 15. Their defeat at Haliar'tus induced the Spar-
395. } tans to recall Agesila'us from Asia, at the very moment when he seemed likely to humble the Persian empire in the dust. He did not, however, hesitate, but assembled the deputies of the Asiatic Greeks, and bade them a final farewell; many of their soldiers accompanied him as volunteers, and he was thus enabled, after crossing the Hel'lespont, to pursue the route which Xerxes had taken in his invasion of Greece, without any fear of being stopped by a superior force.

16. But the news of an unexpected calamity, which he had himself in some measure caused, reached him on his march, and made him sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the Spartan power. It has been already mentioned, that Co'non, after the battle of Æ'gos Pot'amos, had fled to the court of Evag'oras in Cy'prus; by that monarch he had been recommended to the satrap Pharnaba'zus, who employed the illustrious Athenian in collecting and preparing a fleet in the harbours of Phœ'nicia and Cili'cia. While Pha'rax was at the head of the Spartan navy, he prevented the union of the detached squadrons, but the ignorance of Pei'sander enabled Co'non to execute all his projects. 17. Having obtained a large sum of money from Artaxerxes he hired the best sailors in the Greek islands, and soon after putting to sea, he united his squadron with that of Pharnaba'zus, and sailed in search of the Lacedæmonians. The hostile fleets met off Cnei'dus, between the Spor'ades and the Asiatic coast; Peisander with his usual imprudence precipitated an engagement, in which he was defeated and slain, and the Spartans lost their supremacy by sea for ever.

18. The splendid victory which Agesila'us gained over the Thebans at Coronei'a, soon after the news reached him, could not compensate for the loss of the navy. 19. The Athe'nians, who had in some measure recovered their strength, began again to triumph on their favourite element, and Lacedæmon had no admiral able to compete with Co'non, Thrasybu'lus, and Cha'brias. The war continued eight years longer, but was principally confined to petty inroads and trifling skirmishes in the north of the Peloponnesus, the Thebans issuing from Corinth, and the Spartans from Sicyon. 20. The Corinthian nobility would gladly have made a separate peace, but their leaders were treacherously murdered by the popular party, during the solemnity of a religious festival. This treachery exposed Co-
{ B.C.
394.
rinth to the mingled evils of foreign dominion and civil war; for the Argives embraced the side of the populace, the Spartans that of the nobles, and each alternately ruled Corinth as their respective parties prevailed.

21. Co'non, following up his victory, deprived the Spartans of all their cities in lesser Asia, except Aby'dus, which Dercil'lidas rendered impregnable. The only reward he asked from the Persians for his valuable services, was their assistance in rebuilding the walls of Athens, which Pharna-

ba'zus, moved as much by policy as gratitude, readily
 B.C. } granted. The Persian fleet, being intrusted to Co'-
 393. } non, reduced the islands of the Cyc'lades, and
 Cythe'ra, ravaged the coasts of Laco'nia, and at length
 sailed to the long deserted harbours of Athens. 22. Imme-
 diately on their arrival, they proceeded to repair the ancient
 fortifications; the soldiers and sailors of the fleet, the neigh-
 bouring Bœo'tians, but above all the inhabitants of Athens,
 laboured with such extraordinary diligence, that the city
 was restored to its former strength before the Spartans could
 take any measures for its prevention. Co'non then em-
 ployed the Persian fleet in restoring the ancient supremacy
 of the Athe'nians over the islands in the Ægean sea, a
 measure so alarming to the Spartans, that they resolved to
 purchase peace from Persia on any terms, however humili-
 ating. 23. They employed as their agent Antal'cidas, a
 Spartan, who had long resided in the East, and who added
 to his native cunning an intimate acquaintance with Asiatic
 habits. The use made of the Persian fleet by Co'non, fur-
 nished him with a pretence for rousing the jealousy of the
 satraps, and he procured the arrest, and probably the murder
 of that admiral. 24. Still Artaxer'xes had been too deeply
 injured by the Spartans to listen to terms of accommodation,
 and Antal'cidas might probably have failed, had not the
 Athenians provoked the resentment of the Persian monarch
 by a rash incursion into Pamphy'lia, in which Thrasybu'-
 lus was slain, and by aiding Evagoras in an attempt to secure
 the independence of Cyprus.

B.C. } 25. The terms of the peace were at length settled,
 387. } and never was any treaty signed that reflected more
 disgrace on a nation than this did on the Spartans. All the
 Greek cities in Asia, with the peninsula of Clazome'næ and
 the island of Cy'prus, were given up to the Persians; all
 the republics of Greece, small and great, declared inde-
 pendent of each other, and the Spartans under the Persian
 monarch were charged with securing the observance of the
 articles. Thus did Sparta, in order to secure her own pre-
 eminence at home, sacrifice the liberty of the Asiatic Greeks,
 and make the ancient enemy of Hellas the supreme arbiter
 of her destiny.

26. After many vain remonstrances, Athens, Argos, Co-
 rinth and Thebes, unable to resist the united forces of Sparta
 and Persia, reluctantly assented to the inglorious conditions;
 but Evagoras still determined to maintain Cyprus inde-

pendent. After a gallant resistance, however, he was obliged to submit, but such was the respect inspired by his valour, that he was permitted to retain his original dominions on condition of paying the former tribute.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the consequences of the defeat of Cyrus ?
2. To whom did the Spartans intrust the command of the troops in Asia ?
3. What became of the relics of The Ten Thousand.
4. How did Thimbron behave in Asia ?
5. Why were the Grecian and Persian generals equally unwilling to come to an engagement ?
6. For what reason was Dercyllidas removed from the command ?
7. How was Agesilaus raised to the Spartan throne ?
8. Why did Lysander assist Agesilaus ?
9. What was the character of the new Spartan king ?
10. How did Agesilaus treat Lysander ?
11. To whom was the Spartan navy intrusted ?
12. Why did Artaxerxes easily succeed in exciting war against the Spartans in Greece ?
13. Whom did the Spartans send against the Thebans ?
14. What were the circumstances of the battle of Haliartus ?
15. How did Agesilaus return from Asia ?
16. In what manner was Conon employed ?
17. How was Sparta deprived of her supremacy by sea ?
18. Did any victory by land compensate for the defeat at Cnidus ?
19. How long did this war continue ?
20. To what misfortunes was Corinth subjected ?
21. Did Conon follow up his victories ?
22. What benefit did Conon confer on his native country ?
23. Whom did the Spartans employ to negotiate a peace ?
24. How did the Athenians incur the resentment of Artaxerxes ?
25. What were the conditions of the peace of Antalcidas ?
26. Did any person refuse for a time to submit to these conditions

CHAPTER XI.

THE THIRD PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

1. THE supremacy which Sparta had so disgracefully purchased by the peace of Antal'cidas was exercised with great severity. They declared war against the little state of Mantinei'a, under the pretence, that its inhabitants had

furnished corn to their enemies during the late war, and after encountering a fierce, but ineffectual resistance, levelled the city to the ground. They sent an army to regulate the internal condition of Phli'us, and cruelly massacred all those whom they suspected of hostility to their interests. 2. F. B.C. } nally they proclaimed war against the Olyn'thians, 383. } for assuming supremacy over the other states on the sea-coast of Macedon. During four years the Olyn'thians baffled every effort of Sparta and her allies, but at length an overwhelming force was sent, which compelled them after a siege of eight months to surrender. The terms on which peace was granted were sufficiently harsh, but Olyn'thus was permitted to retain its independence.

3. The Olynthian war is, however, principally remarkable for a vile instance of treachery exhibited by the Spartans to a city with which they were in alliance. During the first year of the war, Phœ'bidas had been sent with a numerous reinforcement to the army that had advanced against Olynthus; on his passage through Bœo'tia, he was met by some of the aristocratic faction at Thebes, who offered to put him in possession of the Theban citadel, provided he would aid them in subduing their opponents. Phœ'bidas without hesitation assented, and being introduced by some of the nobles during the night, seized and garrisoned Thebes without opposition.

4. This treacherous occupation of a city by an ally, excited universal detestation throughout Greece. The Spartan senate felt, or pretended to feel, indignant at the conduct of Phœ'bidas, but Agesila'us* stood forward as his defender, acknowledging, indeed, that his conduct was unjust, but dwelling strongly on its utility; and by his influence it was finally resolved, that Phœbidas should be fined a small sum for having acted without orders, but that the Spartans should retain the fruits of his treachery. 5. The conduct of the prevailing faction at Thebes exceeded even the cruelty of the thirty tyrants; most of the leaders of the popular party fled to Athens, where they were received with great hospitality, the rest were butchered without a trial and without mercy.

6. The Thebans, after submitting to this yoke for four years, at last threw it off by the following stratagem. A

* There is every reason to suppose, that Agesilaus had prompted Phœbidas to this action. Xenophon, the historian, an Athenian deserter, notoriously partial to the Spartans, scarcely denies it.



The stratagem of Pelopidas.

correspondence having been established between the Theban exiles at Athens and such of their countrymen as were well affected to them in Thebes, a plan was laid for surprising the governors and the garrison. 7. The two principal exiles that conducted this plot, were Pelopidas and Me'lon. Cha'ron, a man of the first consequence in the city, joined in the conspiracy, and offered his house for the reception of the exiles when they should arrive; and Phylidas, secretary to the governors, managed the correspondence between the exiles and the citizens, and promised to admit the former into the town.

8. Matters being thus previously concerted, Pelopidas and Me'lon, with ten associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and beat about the fields with dogs and hunting poles, as if in search of game. Having thus passed unsuspected, and conveyed themselves into the city, they met at Cha'ron's house, where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. To render the execution of the plot the more easy and complete, Phylidas had that day contrived to give a grand entertainment to the two governors, Ar'chias and Philip. 9. But a secret and obscure rumour of impending danger had been spread through the city, which had almost disconcerted the plot. Cha'ron was summoned before the Spartan magistrates, but the readiness with which he answered every question checked their suspicions, and he was permitted to retire. Soon after, a new and more alarming danger appeared. A courier arrived from Athens, and forcing his way into the banquet-

room, presented a letter to Archias, declaring that it contained important tidings. Its contents, indeed, were truly important, for it contained a full exposure of the whole conspiracy. But Archias, who was a professed voluptuary, carelessly answered, "Business to-morrow," and thrust the letter under his pillow.

10. The associates divided themselves into two bands. One of these, led by Cha'ron and Me'lon, were to attack the governors and their company. Accordingly having put on women's clothes over their armour, with pine and poplar garlands on their heads, to shade their faces, they took the opportunity, when the guests were all heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately stabbed Ar'chias and Philip, with such others of the company as were pointed out to them by Phyl'idias. In the mean time, Pelop'idias and Damocli'des attacked Leon'tidas, another adherent of the Spartans, who was at home and in bed. But this man made a desperate resistance; for taking up his sword, he met them at his chamber door, and slew the first that set upon him: but after a long and violent struggle, he was at last overcome by Pelop'idias, who killed him on the spot. His friend and neighbour, Hy'pates, soon after met with the same fate: and the two bands then reuniting, sent an account of their success to the other exiles at Athens, and entreated them to hasten their return to Thebes.

11. The work, however, was yet but half done. The garrison, together with such of the citizens as favoured the Spartan cause, had taken refuge in the citadel; and till these were reduced, Thebes could not be said to be free.

12. But a party of five thousand foot and two thousand horse arriving next morning from Athens, and several bodies of troops coming in at the same time from different parts of Bœo'tia, Pelop'idias soon found himself at the head of so powerful an army, that he compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion.

13. The Spartans, though mortified, were by no means dispirited by this reverse of fortune. They made such vigorous preparations to restore their power at Thebes, that the Athenians resolved to remain neutral, and even renewed their alliance with Sparta. But the Spartan general Sphod'rias having made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Peiræ'eus, the Athenians, justly enraged at such an instance of perfidy, resolved to assist the Thebans. The Spartans now seeing their power attacked by such a formidable coalition,

sent Agesila'us at the head of twenty thousand into Bœotia. 14. The name alone of that general struck terror into the enemy, who, afraid to meet him in the open field, took possession of a hill in the neighbourhood of the city. Agesila'us sent a party to provoke them to come down, and give him battle; and when he saw that they declined this, he drew out his whole army in order to attack them. 15. But Cha'brias, who commanded the Athenian auxiliaries, ordered his men to present themselves, and keep their ranks close, with their shields laid at their feet, their spears advanced, one leg forward, and the knee of the other upon the half bend. Agesila'us, finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they stood as it were in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himself with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary stratagem; and Cha'brias valued himself so much upon it, that he procured his statue* to be erected in that posture.

16. The Spartans had hitherto been deemed unequalled in military prowess; but they now began to be rivalled, and even excelled, in that noble quality by the Thebans. This particularly appeared in the battle of Tegy'ra.† Pelop'idas, the Theban general, had resolved to attack Orcho'menus,‡ which was garrisoned by the Spartans. He, therefore, marched against it with a small party of three hundred foot and forty horse; but, hearing that a large body of Spartans were hastening to its relief, he thought it best to retire. In his retreat he fell in with this reinforcement near Tegy'ra, and, finding it impossible to avoid a battle, he resolutely prepared to engage. 17. After a violent struggle, which was maintained with equal bravery on both sides, Gorgo'leon and Theopom'pus, the two Spartan generals, fell; which so intimidated their men, that they immediately retired on either hand, and opened a way for the Thebans to pass. But a safe retreat could not satisfy Pelop'idas. Encouraged by his late success, he drew up his men afresh, and renewed the battle; and, after committing a most terrible havoc among the enemy, he put them to an entire rout.

18. This was the most signal disgrace the Spartans had ever met with. They had never before been known to yield even to an equal number: but here they were beaten by a force not one-third of their own. It must be acknowledged, however, that these three hundred foot were the flower of

* This statue still exists in Rome.

† A town in Bœotia.

‡ A town in Bœotia.

the Theban army, distinguished by the name of the SACRED BAND. They were as remarkable for their fidelity to each other as for their strength and courage; they were linked together by the bonds of common friendship, and were sworn to stand by each other to the last extremity. Thus united, they became invincible, and generally turned the scale of victory in their favour for a number of years; till, at length, they were cut down as one man, by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip.*

19. Pelop'idas was not, however, the only distinguished general that Thebes produced. Epaminon'das, his contemporary and colleague in command, was every way his equal, and, if possible, his superior. These two great men lived in the strictest intimacy and friendship; and the only cause of rivalry between them was, which of them should distinguish himself most in promoting the interest and advancing the glory of their native country. 20. Epaminon'das had spent the early part of his life in the study of philosophy, remote from the management of public affairs, either of a civil or military nature, in neither of which he would ever engage, until he was overcome by the importunities of his countrymen, who thought they perceived in him, amidst all his diffidence and self-denial, the seeds of many great and excellent qualities. Nor were they deceived in their opinion; for when he was placed, as it were against his will, at the head of an army, he showed the world that an application to the polite arts, so far from disqualifying a man for a public station, only renders him capable of filling it with more distinguished lustre.†

Questions for Examination.

1. How did the Spartans use their new power?
2. What caused the war between Sparta and Olynthus?
3. Did the Spartans commit any act of treachery?
4. Was Phœbidas punished for his treachery?

* At the battle of Chæroneia.

† Epaminondas, in all respects, whether a soldier, statesman, or philosopher, is allowed to have been not only the first man of his time, but the greatest, perhaps, that any age or nation has produced: he was possessed of the most eminent virtues, not counterbalanced by a single vice. He was descended from one of the greatest and most opulent families in Thebes, and received an education every way suited to his high rank and expectations.

5. How did the Theban aristocracy behave ?
6. How long did the tyranny of the Spartan party at Thebes continue ?
7. By whom was the plot for the restoration of Theban liberty planned ?
8. How was it carried into execution ?
9. Was the plot near being discovered ?
10. Did the conspiracy succeed ?
11. What place still held out for the Spartans ?
12. By whose assistance was the citadel reduced ?
13. Who was sent against the Thebans ?
14. Did Agesilaus offer battle ?
15. By what military movement was he defeated ?
16. In what battle did the Thebans first show themselves a match for the Spartans ?
17. What was the event of the battle of Zegyra ?
18. To what portion of the Theban troops was the merit of this victory chiefly owing ?
19. Did Thebes produce any rival to Pelopidas ?
20. What was the character of Epaminondas ?

SECTION II.

THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA.

1. By the valour and conduct of Pelop'idas and Epaminon'das, Thebes was now able not only to maintain its own independence, but even to threaten the rest of Greece with subjection. It was probably the apprehension of this last event that had made the Athenians break off their alliance with the Thebans, and join a confederacy with the Spartans against their former allies. 2. The Spartans had long considered themselves as the arbitrators of Greece, and could ill bear a rival in this boasted pre-eminence: they, therefore, resolved to humble the pride of Thebes; and, with this view, their general, Cleombro'tus, marched towards the frontiers of Bœo'tia with a numerous army. 3. But, in order to give an air of justice to their hostilities, they first sent to demand of the Thebans, that they should restore their liberties to the cities they had seized, that they should rebuild those they had demolished, and make reparation for all the wrongs they had done. To this it was replied, "That the Thebans were accountable to none but Heaven for their conduct." 4. Nothing now remained on either side but to prepare for action. Epaminon'das immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march;

but his army did not amount to six thousand men, while that of the enemy was above four times that number. As several bad omens were urged to prevent his setting out, he replied by repeating a verse from Homer, importing that no omen is bad when we are to fight for our country. However, to reassure the superstitious soldiers, whom he perceived to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of his troops.

B.C. } 5. Epaminon'das had wisely taken care to secure
371. } a pass, which would have shortened Cleom'brotus's march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuc'tra, a small town of Bœo'tia, between Plata'ea and Thes'piæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; at length Cleom'brotus resolved so to do by the advice of his officers, who said, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. These, on their side, had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. 6. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, being equally divided in their sentiments, the seventh, who was Pelop'idas, came very opportunely to give the casting vote for an engagement; and his opinion deciding the question, it was at last determined to engage.*

7. The two armies, as we have already said, were very unequal in number. The Lacedæmo'nians amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot, but their cavalry nearly equalled those of the Spartans in number, and far surpassed them in discipline and valour. The ability of the generals alone supplied the place of great armies, especially that of the Theban commander, who was the most accom-

* In the interim, Jason, a powerful prince of Thessaly, arrived with a reinforcement for the Thebans, of a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot: he, however, exerted himself to procure a peace, and a truce was actually agreed on. As Cleombrotus was about to retire out of Bœotia, he met Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, coming with a considerable force from Sparta; on which, without regard to the truce, he returned and attacked the Thebans, and the result proved such as perfidy and dishonourable conduct like this deserved.

plished soldier of his time ; and he was nobly supported by Pelop'idas, who was then at the head of the sacred band.

8. The plain of Leuctra is on every side surrounded by the lofty ridges of Hel'icon, Cithæ'ron, and Cynosceph'alæ ; and the Thebans who were in possession of the mountains, saw distinctly the line of battle which their enemies had formed. As the Spartans were so vastly superior in number, Epaminon'das was aware that an adherence to the old system of Grecian tactics must invariably end in his defeat, and he at once adopted a new plan, which was one of the greatest improvements ever introduced into the art of war. 9. The Spartan army was drawn up in the form of a crescent ; the native troops formed the right wing under the command of Cleom'brotus, on the left were the allies, headed by Archida'mus ; these auxiliaries were, however, far from being earnest in support of the Spartan cause, and many in their secret soul hoped that the Thebans might be victorious. 10. Epaminon'das saw at once that if the battalions commanded by Cleom'brotus were defeated, the victory would be secured, and on that side he prepared to make his grand attack. He collected all the best soldiers on his own left wing, and drew them up in files fifty deep ; the sacred band under Pelop'idas guarded the left flank, to prevent the extended lines of the Spartan crescent from getting round on that side to his rear ; the rest of the army were drawn out six file deep, in a line dropping off obliquely from that of the enemy. 11. Thus he had so arranged his forces that the fate of the day would probably be decided by his left wing, before the enemy could bring the right to an engagement. The battle commenced with the charge of the Theban cavalry, which drove back that of the Spartans on the infantry, and threw their ranks into confusion. 12. Epaminon'das availed himself of this, and immediately forming his column like a wedge, he led down the close serried ranks on the extended and disordered lines. The very weight of the column made it irresistible, the hostile ranks were broken, and the post where Cleom'brotus stood was soon assailed by the intrepid Thebans. The danger of the king completed the disorder of the Spartans, they ran from every side of the field to his assistance, but before they could form new ranks, Cleom'brotus and all his immediate followers were slain. 13. The Spartans, after incredible exertions, succeeded in bearing off his dead body, while Epaminondas

fortified his ranks, and prepared for a renewal of the engagement. But the fate of the day was already decided. The Spartans were irretrievably broken, and the allies who had not joined in the battle on account of the distance between them and the Theban right wing, refused to advance against the close ranks of the victorious column. Archidamus was consequently compelled to retreat to his camp, and to acknowledge the Theban victory, by sending a herald to ask permission to bury the dead.

14. The Lacedæmonians had never received so terrible a blow. The most bloody defeat, till then, had scarcely ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmo'nians, and four hundred Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

15. It is remarkable, that when the news of this defeat was brought to Sparta, the Eph'ori would not suffer the public games, which were then celebrating, to be interrupted. Whether this proceeded from an affectation of indifference, as if they wished to represent their loss as trifling, and were desirous of concealing the real greatness of it from the people, or that luxury and dissipation had then made a considerable progress even in Sparta itself, it is difficult, at this distance of time, to determine. 16. Next day, however, the loss of each particular family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had fallen in battle went to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulated each other upon their glory and good fortune, whilst the relations of those who had escaped were overwhelmed with grief and affliction.

17. But there was another point to be determined with regard to the survivors. They were, by the law, to be degraded from all honour, and rendered infamous; insomuch that it would be a disgrace to intermarry with them: they were to appear publicly in mean and dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half shaved; and whoever met them in the streets might insult and beat them, without their daring to make any resistance. 18. This was so severe a law, and such numbers had on this occasion incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and interest, that they apprehended the execution of it might excite some public commotion; besides, that

these citizens, such as they were, could very ill be spared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army. Under this difficulty, they gave Agesila'us a power even over the laws, to dispense with them, to abrogate them, or to enact such new ones as the present emergency required. He would not, however, abolish or alter the law, but made a public declaration that it should lie dormant for that single day, and by this expedient he saved the citizens from infamy.

19. It was not long before the Spartans felt the consequences of this dreadful overthrow. Numbers of Greek cities, that had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the Thebans, and increased their army to the amount of seventy thousand men. With this mighty force, Epaminon'das entered Laco'nia, and overran the open country. He did not, however, attempt any thing against Sparta itself; but he reinstated the Arcadians in all their ancient rights and privileges, of which they had been deprived by the Spartans, and enabled them to build a { B.C.
new city, which, from the name of the old one, was { 369.
called Messe'nia.

20. On their return from this expedition, the two generals were brought to trial for having retained their command four months beyond the time limited by law. On this occasion, Pelop'idas showed less courage than was to be expected from one of his daring and impetuous character. He purchased safety by degrading submission to his accusers, and even thus escaped with difficulty. Epaminondas, on the contrary, boldly narrated the services he had performed, and dared his judges to pronounce sentence of condemnation.*

* The speech of Epaminondas well deserves to be transcribed at length: "I was in hope," said he, "that my successes, and the advantages you derive from them, would have been sufficient motives to induce you to acquit me; but since they are not, I only wait for your sentence, and am ready both to accuse and condemn myself; only let posterity be as well apprized of my crime as they will be of my punishment. Let them know that I am put to death for having so successfully led your troops into Laconia, where no enemy had ever penetrated before, and for having been the first who made that country feel the dreadful effects of your victorious arms; that I die for having restored the Messenians to their ancient patrimony; for having reunited the Arcadians, and ruined the Lacedæmonians; for having increased your strength, enlarged your conquests, and raised you to this present height of power and glory. All I further beg is, that it may be engraved on my monument, that he who hath done you all these services was punished with death!"

The wrath of the assembly was changed into admiration, and Epaminondas returned from the tribunal with as much glory as from the field of Leuctra.

B.C. } 21. The violent death of a Thessalian prince a
370. } little before this event prevented the exploits of Alexander in the East from being anticipated. Ja'son of Phe'ræ, a small state in Thessaly, had raised himself from the government of a petty town to the rank of captain-general of Thessaly, under which title he enjoyed the full extent of royal power. By a long course of judicious discipline, he formed an army, such as no nation of antiquity could match, and whose attachment to himself bordered on devotion. He enlarged the boundaries of Thessaly, by the subjugation of the Ep'irotes and other barbarous tribes on the southern and western frontiers. 22. He compelled the Macedonians to become his tributary auxiliaries, and invaded Pho'cis, in order to obtain the guardianship of the Delphic oracle. He endeavoured, but in vain, to mediate a peace between the Thebans and Spartans, a necessary preliminary to his great object, which was an invasion of Persia by the united forces of all the Grecian states, under his command. 23. But just at the moment when his projects seemed most to promise a favourable issue, he was stabbed at the head of his troops by seven young men, who had come into his presence under pretence of demanding justice. Two of the assassins were killed by the guards, the remainder escaped to the Grecian republics, where they were honourably received as the destroyers of a tyrant.

Questions for Examination.

1. What effect had the victories of the Thebans on the Athenians ?
2. To whom did the Spartans intrust the command of their armies ?
3. What conditions were offered to the Thebans ?
4. How did Epaminondas prepare to meet the enemy ?
5. Why were both armies inclined to come to an immediate engagement ?
6. By whom was the casting vote for battle given ?
7. What was the relative strength of the hostile armies ?
8. In what advantageous position were the Thebans posted ?
9. How was the Spartan line formed ?
10. In what manner did Epaminondas draw out his forces ?
11. What was the advantage of the Theban arrangement ?
12. Of what opportunity did Epaminondas avail himself to make a decisive charge ?
13. Did this decide the fate of the day ?

14. What was the loss of the Spartans in this battle?
15. How did the Ephori behave when they heard of the defeat at Leuctra?
16. What was the conduct of the parents of those who had fallen in the action?
17. According to the institutions of Lycurgus how should the defeated soldiers have been treated?
18. How did Agesilaus preserve the authority of the law, and yet spare the guilty?
19. What use did Epaminondas make of his victory?
20. Did Pelopidas and Epaminondas exhibit equal courage when brought to trial?
21. What was the character of Jason of Pheræ?
22. Did Jason meditate any great design?
23. How were his intentions frustrated?

SECTION III.

THE INVASION OF THE PELOPONNESUS BY THE THEBANS.

1. IN the mean time the Spartans, struck with consternation at their late defeat, applied to the Athenians for succour; and that people, notwithstanding their jealousy of their old rivals, engaged to assist them with all their forces. They likewise had recourse to the Persian king for the same purpose: but Pelop'idas, undertaking an embassy to the court of that prince, prevailed upon him to remain neuter.

2. Thes'saly became a prey to disorders of every kind after the death of Ja'son. Alexander, his successor at Pheræ, was one of the most detestable tyrants recorded in history; he was a robber by land, a pirate by sea, and an oppressor at home. At length his subjects took up arms against him, and applied to the Thebans for assistance. Pelop'idas was sent with a numerous army against the tyrant, but on his submission, peace was granted on favourable terms. 3. From Thes'saly Pelop'idas advanced into Macedon, which was distracted by the fury of contending factions. He established the just claims of Per'diccas to the crown, and took hostages from the different parties for their future tranquillity. 4. Among these was Philip the younger, brother of king Per'diccas, who being thus sent to Thebes at an early age, learned from Epami-

non'das that skill in the art of war which he afterwards exerted for the destruction of Grecian liberty.

B.C. } 5. On his return from Macedon, Pelop'idas, while
367. } passing through Thessaly, was seized by the tyrant Alexander, and thrown into prison. An army was sent to deliver him, but through the incompetence of the generals, it was defeated. 6. Epaminon'das, who had been stripped of his office by the malice of his enemies, was at this time actually serving as a private in the ranks; to him the soldiers applied in their distress; at their request he assumed the command; and soon compelled the tyrant to submission.

B.C. } 7. Pelop'idas was scarcely set at liberty, when
364. } he resolved to punish the tyrant for his perfidy and breach of faith. He led a body of troops against him to a place called Cynos-ceph'alæ,* where a bloody battle ensued, in which the Thebans were victorious; but Pelop'idas was unfortunately slain. His countrymen considered those successes as very dearly earned which were purchased at the expense of his life. His death was equally lamented by the Thebans and Thessa'lians; the latter begged and obtained the honour of performing his funeral rites, which were very grand and magnificent. 8. Alexan'der himself was soon after killed by his wife Thebé, and her three brothers, who, long disgusted with his cruelties, had resolved to rid the world of such a monster. It is said that his whole palace was every night filled with guards, except his bedchamber, which was an upper room, guarded by a dog, and ascended by a ladder. Thebé allured away the dog, and covered the steps of the ladder with wool, to prevent noise; then her three brothers ascending, one of them seized him by the feet, and another by the hair, and the third stabbed him to the heart.

9. In the mean time, the war between the Thebans and Spartans was carried on with unabated vigour.† The states of the Peloponne'sus, wearied of Spartan tyranny, had long since joined the Thebans, but had lately found their new allies as fond of domineering over the auxiliaries as the Lacedæmo'nians had been. The nobles took advantage

* A town in Thessaly, named from the neighbouring hill, which was supposed to resemble a dog's head.

† Hitherto the Thebans had not attempted maritime warfare, but now, by the advice of Epaminondas, they built and fitted out a hundred galleys,

of this to induce their countrymen again to seek the Spartan alliance, which of course included the restoration of aristocratic government. This was particularly the case in Arca'dia and Achai'a; thither both powers prepared to send their forces, and it became manifest that there the fate of the war would be decided. 10. The Theban troops were commanded by their favourite general Epaminon'das; Agesila'us, the only man in Greece then capable of opposing him, was at the head of the Spartans. The first attempt of Epaminon'das in this campaign showed his great abilities, and his skill in the art of war. Hearing that Agesila'us had begun his march for Mantinei'a, and had left but few citizens to defend Sparta, he marched directly thither by night, with a design to take the city by surprise, as it had neither walls nor troops to protect it. 11. Agesila'us, however, had an intimation of his design, and despatched one of his cavalry to apprize the city of its danger; soon after which he himself arrived with a powerful succour: and scarcely had entered the place, when the Thebans were seen crossing the Euro'tas, and advancing against the city. Epaminon'das, finding that his design was discovered, thought it below his character to retire without making some attempt. He, therefore, employed valour instead of stratagem, and attacking the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and made himself master of that part of Sparta which lay upon the hither side of the river. 12. Agesila'us exerted himself with greater activity than could have been expected from one of his years. He saw well that it was not now a time to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and intrepidity to repel such an assailant. His son, Archida'mus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible bravery wherever the danger was greatest; and with his small troop, stopped the enemy and made head against them on all sides.*

* A Spartan youth, named Is'adas, filled not only his countrymen, but even the enemy, with admiration of his valour. He was of a beautiful countenance, an elegant shape, an advantageous stature, and just in the prime of youth; and had neither arms nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil. Upon the first alarm he ran out of his house, with a spear in one hand and a sword in the other, and rushing into the thickest of the enemy, bore down all before him, laying numbers dead at his feet, without himself receiving the least wound. Whether the enemy were confounded at the sight, as thinking him something more

13. Epaminon'das, having failed in his design upon Sparta, was determined to strike some other blow that might compensate for his miscarriage. Hearing, therefore, that, in order to protect Sparta, all the troops had been withdrawn from Mantinei'a, he resolved to march thither without delay; but previously despatched a troop of horse to view its situation, and to clear the field of stragglers.

14. A little, however, before he reached Mantinei'a, an army of six thousand Athenian auxiliaries arrived by sea; who, without allowing either themselves or their horses any refreshment, rushed out of the city, and attacked and defeated the Theban horse. In the mean time, Epaminon'das was advancing with his whole army, with the enemy close upon his rear. Finding it impossible to accomplish his purpose before he was overtaken, he determined to halt and give them battle. 15. He had now got within a short way of the town, which has had the honour of giving its name to the conflict of that day: a conflict the most splendid, and the best contested, that is to be found in the history of Greece, or perhaps in that of any other country. The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies: the Lacedæmonians amounted to above twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the Thebans to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

16. Epaminon'das marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in disposing of his army, that precious time which cannot be recovered. He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over against them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy were deceived by this step; and no longer expecting a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to cool which the near approach of a combat is wont to kindle in the hearts of soldiers.

than human, or whether, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him on account of his extraordinary valour, remains a question. His gallantry, however, was so much admired, that the Eph'ori decreed him a garland; but they afterwards fined him a thousand *drachmas* for having gone out to battle without armour.

17. Epaminon'das took advantage of this imprudent conduct of the enemy: by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, he changed his column into a line; and having drawn out his choice troops, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, in order to add to its strength, and enable it to attack in a point the Lacedæmo'nian phalanx, which by the movement he had made faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slowly, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

18. He expected to decide the victory with that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had disposed in a column to attack the enemy in the form of a wedge. He was persuaded that, if he could penetrate the Lacedæmo'nian phalanx, in which the enemy's chief strength lay, he should find it no difficult matter to rout the rest of the army, by charging them upon the right and left with his victorious troops. 19. To prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon a rising ground, in readiness to flank the Athenians, if they should venture to advance to sustain their right.

20. After having drawn up his army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were greatly surprised when they saw Epaminon'das advancing towards them in this order, and immediately flew to their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Questions for Examination.

1. To whom did the Spartans apply for assistance against the Thebans?
2. Why was Pelopidas sent into Thessaly?
3. For what purpose did he advance against Macedon?
4. What remarkable hostage was brought to Thebes?
5. Did the tyrant of Phæræ offer any insult to the Thebans?
6. By whom was Pelopidas liberated?
7. How did Pelopidas die?
8. What became of the tyrant Alexander?

9. What was the state of the Peloponnesus at this time ?
10. Did Epaminondas undertake any daring enterprise ?
11. How was Sparta saved ?
12. What persons distinguished themselves most in the battle ?
13. Whither did Epaminon'das lead his army from Sparta ?
14. What circumstances precipitated the battle of Mantinea ?
15. Is this battle very remarkable, and why ?
16. By what stratagem did Epaminondas throw his enemies off their guard ?
17. How did he take advantage of the error made by the Spartans ?
18. Against what part of the enemy's line did Epaminon'das direct his chief attack ?
19. How did he prepare to meet the Athenians ?
20. In what manner did the enemy act ?

SECTION IV.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE THIRD PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B.C. } 1. WHILE Epaminon'das was marching against
 363. } the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, consisting entirely of Thebans and Thessa'lians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The contest here was violent, but not long. The Lacedæmo'nian horse was soon repulsed, and obliged to take refuge behind their infantry. 2. In the mean time, Epaminon'das, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmo'nian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour ; both the Thebans and Lacedæmo'nians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began fighting with their spears ; but, these being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand, and a terrible carnage ensued. Despising danger, and desirous only of distinguishing themselves by the gallantry of their conduct, the men chose rather to die in their ranks than lose a step of their ground.

3. This terrible slaughter having continued for some time, without victory inclining to either side, Epaminon'das, to turn the scale in his own favour, determined to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most resolute about him ; and putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the

enemy, where the fight was hottest, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmo'nians with the first javelin he threw. 4. The troops, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminon'das, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were obliged to give ground. The bulk of the The'ban army, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon their right and left, and made great havoc among them. 5. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminon'das was carried away by his ardour, suddenly rallied, and, returning to the charge, overwhelmed him with a shower of javelins, and Gryl'lus, the son of Xenophon the celebrated historian, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in his breast, through his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head remaining in the wound, the torment was intolerable, and he fell immediately. Upon this the battle raged around him with redoubled fury; one side exerting their utmost efforts to take him alive, and the other to save him. The The'bans at last gained their point, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

6. After a variety of manœuvres, and alternate losses and advantages, the troops on both sides ceased fighting, and rested upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by mutual consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the The'bans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field; the Athenians, because they had cut the general's detachment in pieces. From this point of honour, both sides at first refused to ask leave to bury their dead; which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat; the Lacedæmo'nians, at length, however, sent to demand that permission; after which, the rest hastened to pay the last duties to the slain.

7. In the mean time Epaminon'das had been carried into the camp, and the surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out. These words filled all that were present with the greatest affliction, as depriving them of all hope of preserving so great a man to be a blessing to his country. For himself, the only concern he expressed, was about his arms and the fate of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the The'bans

were the conquerors, turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air, "All then is well," said he, and soon after, upon the head of the javelin being extracted from his body, he expired in the arms of victory.*

8. As the glory of Thebes arose with Epaminon'das, so it fell with him; and he is, perhaps, the only instance of one man's being able to inspire his countrymen with a love of military fame without having had a predecessor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

9. The battle of Mantinei'a was followed by a peace, concluded by the mediation of the Persian king, then anxious to obtain the aid of some Grecian auxiliaries in subduing some of the satraps in Egypt and Asia, who aimed at independence. 10. The terms of the peace provided for the liberty of the Grecian states, and were therefore rejected by the Spartans, who were resolved at all hazards to subdue Messe'nia. This, however, could not be effected immediately, and they therefore permitted Agesila'us to lead an army to the support of the revolted Egyptians. 11. In this war the Spartan king exhibited his usual ability, and more than usual venality. He first supported the pretensions of Ta'chos, but being seduced by the splendid offers of Nectane'bus, he deserted his former ally, on the most absurd pretences, and devoted himself to the service of the new competitor.

B.C. } 12. In this dishonourable war he amassed consi-
361. } derable wealth, by which he probably hoped to restore the former supremacy of Sparta, but on his return home he was seized with a mortal disease, and died on the coast of Cyrena'ica, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-first of his reign. 13. The character of Agesila'us is best learned from his history; we there see the strongest example of the greatest talents rendered useless by a want of integrity. It was a maxim of the Spartan government, *that any crime profitable to the state might be committed with impunity*; and on this detestable rule Agesila'us acted so glaringly, that he brought on his country the general hostility of Greece. When he ascended the throne, Sparta was at the summit of her glory; during his

* On some of his friends bitterly lamenting his untimely death, and his leaving no posterity, he answered, "Yes, I have left two fair daughters, the victory of Leuctra and this of Mantinei'a, to perpetuate my memory."

reign she sunk into utter insignificance. 14. But though no doubt the ambition, obstinacy, and avowed dishonesty of Agesila'us contributed to the ruin of his country, the peculiar nature of the Spartan institutions was a much more efficient cause. The laws of Lycurgus had long ceased to be observed, except in name—they were inapplicable to an advanced state of society, and were preserved more from the power which they placed in the hands of a few, than for any advantage resulting from them to the nation. The Spartan inhabitants of the city tyrannized over the Lacedæmonians who dwelt in the suburbs; both oppressed the Laconian farmers in the country, and all treated the Helots with sanguinary cruelty. The tyranny which they thus learned at home, they practised abroad; supporting every where the power of the few, and exacting more obedience to the Spartan commissioners, than ever was paid to the native magistrates. Pride, cruelty, and treachery were the lessons taught by the Spartan law, and practised in their full extent by Lysander and Agesila'us. But such practices could only ensure temporary obedience, and therefore, when once Thebes set the example of successful resistance, the Spartan dominion was shaken to its foundation. Misfortunes seemed only to increase their pride; they would not yield one of their unfounded claims, even when it was impossible to protect their just rights, and thus to preserve an empty shadow they lost every chance of recovering the substance.

15. During the late war between Thebes and Sparta, the Athenians, without taking a prominent part, succeeded in gaining the respect of both parties. The abilities of Iphi'crates, Timo'theus, and Cha'brias were frequently displayed to great advantage, and their character for rectitude and a sincere love of justice tended still more to restore Athens to her former station in Greece. 16. But the people were no longer able to bear prosperity; most of the influential citizens had fallen in the struggle with the thirty tyrants, and those who had succeeded to their places were for the most part needy adventurers. The democracy established by Cleis'thenes was never a good form of government, since it gave the executive and legislative power to the multitude, and thus destroyed any real responsibility for the due administration of the laws; but when the people were demoralized into a needy and ignorant mob, by the combined effects of disastrous war and civil commotions, the evils

became intolerable. The favour of the people was courted by expensive theatric shows, and to purchase these gratifications the public treasures were exhausted. To provide money for these idle entertainments, the allied states were taxed with the utmost severity, and their complaints of the extortion to which they were subjected, treated with the most mortifying neglect, or even rejected with the grossest insults. Cha'res, a profligate demagogue, whose character much resembled that of Cle'on, stimulated the people to these outrages, until at length he provoked the subsidiary states to rebellion, and the principal maritime cities, together
 B.C. }
 358. } with several of the Ægean islands, simultaneously threw off the yoke of Athens.

17. This war, commenced in wanton injustice, was conducted with weakness, and ended in disgrace. At the siege of Chi'os, Cha'res ordered the fleet to attempt to force an entrance into the harbour; the ship of Cha'brias alone succeeded, and was soon overwhelmed by the enemy. Its gallant commander refused to quit the vessel which had been intrusted to him by the state, and perished. 18. Soon after Cha'res besieged Byzantium with equal ill success; but throwing the blame on Iphi'crates and Timo'theus, he procured the banishment of these illustrious generals, whose services were thus lost to Athens for ever. But the next proceeding of Cha'res was still more outrageous; he deserted the conduct of the war altogether, and led his forces to assist the satrap Artaba'zus, who was in rebellion against the Persian king, then in alliance with Athens. 19. Artaxerxes III., the sovereign of Persia, was naturally indignant at this breach of a treaty; he immediately espoused the cause of the confederates, and the Athenians, terrified at the power of the enemy whom they had so rashly provoked, sued for that peace, which was granted on the condition,
 B.C. }
 356. } that all the confederate states should be left in absolute possession of their independence. Thus Athens lost her lately recovered supremacy, which she was unable to exercise with justice or discretion.

20. In the mean time, a power was growing up in Greece, hitherto unobserved, but now too conspicuous and formidable to be overlooked in the general picture: this was that of the Macedo'nians, a people hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous; and who, though warlike and hardy, had never yet presumed to intermeddle with the affairs of Greece: but now several circumstances concurred to raise

them from that obscurity, and to involve them in measures which, by degrees, wrought a thorough change in the state of Greece. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin with a short account of their origin, and progress to power, before we enter into a detail of that conspicuous part which they afterwards performed on the theatre of the world.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did the Theban cavalry behave ?
2. Was the contest better sustained by the infantry
3. To what expedient had Epaminondas recourse ?
4. What was the result of this movement ?
5. Did Epaminondas receive a wound ?
6. Was this a very decisive victory ?
7. How did Epaminondas die ?
8. What were the consequences of his death ?
9. Why did the Persian king endeavour to mediate a peace ?
10. How did the Spartans act ?
11. In what manner did Agesilaus behave in Egypt ?
12. Where did Agesilaus die ?
13. What was his character ?
14. In what condition was Sparta at this time ?
15. What had been the conduct of Athens in the late war ?
16. How was Athens then circumstanced ?
17. What loss did the Athenians sustain at the siege of Chios ?
18. In what manner did Chares behave ?
19. What was the consequence of the misconduct of Chares ?
20. What new power now started up in Greece ?

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP.

1. THE name of Macedonia is usually given to the tract of country which lies between the chain of Mount Hæmus on the north, the Cam'bunian mountains on the south, the Ægei'an sea on the east, and the Adriatic on the west. But it was not until a very late period of Grecian history that this extensive tract was united under one head ; the sea-coast was possessed by independent maritime states, the mountainous tracts in the north and west were inhabited by barbarous tribes, who had scarcely any fixed government, and the interior was parcelled out among several petty princes.

2. The first foundation of a monarchy which was destined
 B.C. } to rise to such a height of power was laid by Cara'-
 813. } nus, a descendant of Her'cules, who led a colony
 from Ar'gos to the province of Æ'mathia, which borders on
 the Therma'ic gulf. 3. His descendants continually en-
 larged their dominions by subjecting or expelling several of
 the neighbouring tribes; but when the Persians were about
 to invade Greece, the then ruler of Macedon was obliged to
 purchase safety by becoming tributary to Darius. The
 battle of Plataæ restored independence to the kingdom, but
 B.C. } this was never acknowledged by the Persians, who
 479. } appear to have more than once revived their claim
 to its sovereignty.

4. The retreat of the Persians exposed Macedon to the
 attacks of the Thra'cian tribes, while the Athenians were
 establishing their authority over the maritime cities. This
 induced Perdic'cas, then monarch of Macedon, to embrace
 the Spartan cause in the first Peloponnesian war, but having
 some reason to dread the ambition, and suspect the integrity
 B.C. } of his new allies, he concluded a treaty with the
 423. } Athenians, on terms favourable to both.

5. Archela'us, the successor of Perdiccas, was a wise
 and beneficent sovereign. He encouraged agriculture, con-
 structed roads, and used every exertion to extend the influ-
 ence of civilization among his subjects. During his reign,
 the limits of Macedon were extended, and the inhabitants
 raised to the level of the Helle'nes, by whom, however,
 B.C. } they were not recognised as brethren. But the mur-
 400. } der of Achela'us by his secretary, proved for a long
 time fatal to the improvement of Macedon; several compe-
 titors claimed the crown, and the country was distracted by
 civil wars, until Amyn'tas, the brother of Perdiccas, finally
 triumphed over all his rivals.

6. Amyntas left behind him three legitimate sons, Alex'-
 ander, Perdic'cas, and Philip; with one illegitimate, Ptol'-
 emy. The first had scarcely been placed on the throne,
 when he was deposed by Ptol'emy; the Thebans sent an
 army under Pelop'idas to support the cause of the rightful
 heirs, but after some indecisive engagements, it was agreed
 that Ptol'emy should hold the sceptre as regent, and Philip,
 B.C. } then a boy, was sent as a hostage to Thebes.
 365. } 7. Pausa'nias soon after dethroned and slew Ptol'-
 emy, but found himself, at the same time, scarcely able to
 defend himself against some new pretenders, until the arrival

of the Athenian Iphi'crates with a body of choice troops enabled him to triumph over all opposition. 8. He was slain, however, in a war with the Illyrians, before he had long enjoyed the throne, and was succeeded by Amyntas, his infant son. But the distracted state of public affairs convinced the Macedonians that the time did not admit of their submitting to the rule of a child, accordingly Amyn'tas was set aside, and his uncle Philip proclaimed monarch in his stead.

9. Philip began his reign in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He had received a considerable part of his education at Thebes, whither he had been carried in his youth as a hostage; and he there acquired, under Epaminon'das, that intimate acquaintance with the art of war, as it was then conducted, which he afterwards displayed so signally during the whole course of his reign. 10. He had now, indeed, occasion for all his activity and address, for he was surrounded with almost as many enemies as he had neighbours. The Illyr'ians, who had seized a part of his dominions, were preparing to attack him with a great army; the Pæo'nians were making daily incursions into his territories; and he had, at the same time, the misfortune to have two pretenders to his crown, Pausa'nias, the Lacedæmo'nian, who was supported by the Thra'cians, and Argæ'us, whom the Athenians had undertaken to assist.

11. Under these circumstances, with so many enemies to oppose at once, even before he was well settled on the throne, his first care was to make sure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raise their spirits; for they were very much disheartened, having lost above four thousand men in a battle they had lately fought with the Illyr'ians. He succeeded in these points by his dexterity and address, and still more by the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master. 12. His next step was to train and exercise them, and reform their discipline. He likewise instituted the famous Macedonian phalanx, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient method of fighting among the Grecians, who generally drew up their foot so close, as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken.

13. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen thousand men: though it was also taken in general for any company or party of soldiers, and frequently for the whole body of foot. But this of Philip's invention is

described by Polyb'ius to be an oblong square, consisting of eight thousand pike-men, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front ; the men standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front made their pikes useless, rested upon the shoulders of those who stood before them, and so locking them together in file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, by which means the assault was rendered more violent and almost irresistible.

14. Philip having settled his affairs at home, and compromised all differences with such of his enemies as lay nearest to him, turned his arms against the Athenians, who had marched to Metho'ne,* to assist Argæ'us. He gave them battle, and defeated them : and the death of Argæ'us, who was killed in the action, put an end to the dispute ; for he permitted the Athenians, when they were in his power, to return home. This instance of his moderation gained so far upon them, that they soon after concluded a peace with him ; which yet he observed no longer than was necessary for securing the other parts of his dominion.

15. Accordingly, he marched northward, and subdued first the Pæo'nians, and afterwards the Illyr'ians, the latter of whom he likewise compelled to restore all the conquests they had made in Macedo'nia. He next made himself master of Amphip'olis, which lay upon the river Stry'mon, and was the key of his dominions in that quarter. 16. This place he had seized in the beginning of his reign, and afterwards abandoned in compliment to the Athenians, to whom it originally belonged ; but now, being less apprehensive of the displeasure of that people, he made an entire conquest of it, and added it to his dominions. The Athenians themselves, however, he always treated with great respect, whenever they fell into his hands, as he particularly did upon his taking possession of Pyd'na† and Potidæ'a ; for this last place being garrisoned by the Athenians, he sent them home safe, with many marks of civility.

17. Proceeding still in his encroachments upon his neighbours, he seized the city of Cren'ides,‡ which had been

* A town in Macedonia on the Thermaic gulf.

† A town in Macedonia between the rivers Aliac'mon and Lyd'ius.

‡ It was likewise called Datum or Datos, and afterwards celebrated for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius.

built only two years before, and he now called it Philip'pi, from his own name. Here he discovered a gold mine, which every year produced a hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling; and this, which was an immense sum for that age, was much more serviceable than fleets and armies in fighting his battles; and he seldom failed to make use of it in every negotiation. 18. It is said, that, consulting the oracle of Delphos, concerning the success of an intended expedition, he received for answer, "That with silver spears he should conquer all things." He took the hint, and, by his success, verified the prediction of the oracle. Indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than of a negotiation; well knowing, that his soldiers and generals shared in the former, whereas the honour of the latter was all his own.

19. But a large field was now opening to his ambition. The national divisions of the states of Greece were at no time wholly cemented, and they now broke out upon a very particular occasion. The first cause of the rupture (which was afterwards called the second sacred war) arose from the Pho'cians having cultivated the Cirrhæan plain, which had been so formally dedicated to Apollo at the termination of the first sacred war, (chap. III. sect. III.) Against this all the neighbouring states exclaimed as a sacrilege: the offenders were cited before the council of the Amphi'city- { B.C.
ons, who had the care of sacred matters; and they } 357.
were cast, and fined in a very heavy sum. This the Pho'-
cians were unable to pay; they therefore refused to submit
to the decree; they alleged, that the care and patronage of
the temple anciently belonged to them: and to prove this
they quoted a precedent from Homer.

20. Philome'lus, one of their citizens, had the chief hand in exciting them to take up arms: he raised their ardour and was appointed their general. He first applied himself to the Spartans, who had likewise been fined by the Amphi'-
tyons for having seized the Cadme'ia,* by the treacherous
artifice of Phœ'bidas. For this reason they were very well
disposed to join him, but did not yet think proper to declare
themselves openly: nevertheless, they encouraged him se-
cretly, and supplied him with money; by which means he
raised troops, and, without much difficulty, got possession
of the temple. 21. The principal opposition he met with

* The citadel of Thebes.

in the neighbourhood was from the Lo'crians ; but, having defeated them, he erased the decree of the Amphic'tyons, which had been inscribed on the pillars of the temple. Willing, however, to give a colour to his proceedings, he thought it convenient to consult the oracle, and to procure an answer in his favour. But when he applied to the priestess for that purpose, she refused to officiate, until, being intimidated by his threats, she told him, the god left him at liberty to act as he pleased ; which he looked upon as a good answer, and as such took care to publish it.

22. The Amphic'tyons meeting a second time, a resolution was taken to declare war against the Pho'cians. Most of the states of Greece engaged in the quarrel, and espoused the cause of the one party or the other. The The'bans, the Lo'crians, the Thessa'lians, and several other neighbouring states, declared in favour of the god ; whilst Athens, Sparta, and some other cities of the Peloponne'sus, joined with the Pho'cians. 23. This war, which lasted for some time, was not remarkable for any thing, except that which distinguishes, or rather disgraces, all religious wars,—the cruelties exercised by both parties. The The'bans, having taken some prisoners, condemned all to die, as sacrilegious wretches : and the Pho'cians, in their turn, by way of reprisal, inflicted the same punishment on their captives. Nay, Philome'lus, their leader, being attacked on an eminence, and finding it impossible to escape, threw himself headlong from a rock, rather than fall alive into the hands of his enemies. He was succeeded by his brother, Onomar'chus.

24. Philip did not choose to interfere in this quarrel, which it was rather his interest to encourage than suppress ; being well pleased to see the different states of Greece weaken one another, and thus render them all an easy prey to him when he should be at liberty to attack them.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the ancient situation of Macedon ?
2. By whom was the Macedonian monarchy founded ?
3. When did Macedon become independent of Persia ?
4. What enemies appeared after the Persians were expelled ?
5. Under what circumstances did Amyntas ascend the throne ?
6. When did the Thebans interfere in the civil wars of Macedon ?
7. Did the Athenians take any share in these wars ?
8. Why was Philip raised to the throne ?
9. Where did Philip receive his military education ?
10. By what enemies was he attacked ?

11. How did he deliver himself from these dangers ?
12. What improvement did Philip make in the art of war ?
13. Describe the phalanx.
14. What prudent moderation did he show in his treatment of the Athenians ?
15. What enemies did Philip next subdue ?
16. Did he annex any important cities to his dominions
17. What important discovery was made at Crenides ?
18. Did the Delphic oracle give a remarkable response to Philip ?
19. What caused the second sacred war ?
20. Did any Grecian people favour the Phocians ?
21. By whom were the Phocians principally opposed ?
22. How were the Greek states divided in the sacred war ?
23. For what was the war principally remarkable ?
24. How did Philip behave on the occasion ?

SECTION II.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP.

1. IT was just on the conclusion of this sacred war that Alexander the Great was born.* In his earlier years he had several masters to teach him music, and other superficial accomplishments: but, when he grew up, his father wrote to Ar'istotle, the most celebrated philosopher of his time, begging he would come and undertake the education of his son, and inspire him with those sentiments of magnanimity and justice, which every great man ought to possess, and which no other person was so capable of inculcating. He added, "I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given me a son, as for having given him to me in the age in which Ar'istotle lives."

2. Being desirous of reducing Thrace under his dominion, he determined to make himself master of Metho'ne, which obstructed his designs in that quarter. He accordingly besieged it, obliged it to surrender, and levelled it with the ground.

3. After this, Philip marched to the relief of the Thes-sa'lians, who had implored his assistance against their tyrant Lyc'o-phron, the successor of Alexander of Phe'ræ. This

* This important event happened in the one hundred and sixth olympiad, 455 years B. C. on the very night that the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned by Eros'tratus.

man, after having acted the part of a deliverer for some time, renewed all the cruelties and barbarities of his predecessor ; and, being supported by a large body of Pho'cians under Onomar'chus, he thought himself secure from all opposition. Philip, however, attacked him boldly, routed his army, killed six thousand men upon the field of battle ; and three thousand Pho'cians, who were taken prisoners, were, by his order, thrown into the sea, as sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion.*

4. Having thus freed the Thessa'lians, he resolved to carry his arms into Pho'cis, and with this view was going to take possession of Thermop'ylæ, the key of Greece, and especially of At'tica on that side ; but the Athenians, being informed of his intention, took care to be beforehand with him, and sent a body of troops to occupy that pass : and Philip, unwilling to come as yet to an open rupture with them, thought proper for the present to relinquish his design. The Athenians were roused to this exertion of spirit by the persuasion of Demos'thenes, the celebrated orator, who, from the beginning foresaw the ambitious views of Philip, and the power he had of carrying them into effect.

B.C. } 5. This illustrious orator and statesman, whom we
382. } shall hereafter find acting so considerable a part in the course of this history, was born in the last year of the ninety-ninth olympiad ; he was the son, not of a mean and obscure mechanic, as Juvenal has represented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who had raised a considerable fortune by the making of arms. At the age of seven years he lost his father ; and to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intrusted neglected his education, and wasted or embezzled a considerable part of his inheritance. 6. The first specimen he gave of his abilities as a speaker was in pleading against these corrupt guardians ; though here the goodness of his cause was of more avail than the force of his eloquence ; for his early attempts were unpromising, and soon convinced him of the necessity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. In this respect, indeed, he laboured under impediments that at first sight might appear insurmountable.† 7. By the instruction of Sat'yru,

* Philip, however, had been previously defeated by Onomar'chus in two several engagements.

† The following instances of his industry and perseverance deserve to be recorded :—He had a stammering in his speech ; but this he corrected by pronouncing orations with pebbles in his mouth. He had a



Demosthenes declaiming on the sea shore.

a celebrated player, and his own perseverance, he at last attained to such perfection in the art of delivery, that he surpassed all his contemporaries as much in this as he did in the more noble and sublime parts of his profession. In a word, he soon began to be looked upon as the standard of true eloquence ; insomuch that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him, and none of his countrymen have been put in competition with him ; nor even among the Romans, any but Ci''cero. Indeed, the counsels and conduct of his countrymen were so much under his control, and he had it so much in his power to lead them into any measure he thought proper to recommend, that Philip used to say, he was more afraid of him than of all the fleets and armies of the Athenians, and that he had no enemy but Demos'-thenes.

8. Philip finding himself excluded from Greece, { B.C.
determined to turn his arms against some of the { 348.
more remote states, and to cripple as far as possible the
power of the Athenians, by depriving them of their mari-
time allies and colonies. After having made himself master
of several minor towns, he at length ventured to attack

weak and effeminate voice ; but this he strengthened by repeating speeches or verses when he was out of breath, either with running, or with walking up hill, or on the sea shore when the waves were boisterous. He had an awkward and ungraceful gesture ; but this he regulated and improved by declaiming privately before a looking glass. And, conscious of the natural aversion of the human mind to submit to severe study, he compelled himself, as it were, to perform this part of his duty ; for, having built a closet under ground for the express purpose of improvement, he sometimes confined himself there for two or three months together ; and, in order to cut off all possibility of his coming abroad, shaved one half of his head, while he left the other unshaved.

Olyn'thus, a city on the Macedonian coast, which was the capital of a large and fertile district, called the Chalcid'icé. The Olyn'thians, after having been defeated in the field, shut themselves up in their city, and prepared to make a vigorous defence. They also sent ambassadors to Athens, entreating assistance, and pointing out the danger to which the maritime supremacy of the republic would be exposed, if Philip made himself master of such an extensive sea coast as the Chalcid'icé, and the peninsula of Pallé'ne. These representations were ably seconded by Demos'thenes in his four Olynthiac orations; but the Athenians, sunk in indolence, delayed the succours until they were too late; for in the second year of the siege, two of the citizens, Las'thenes and Euthy'crates, betrayed the city to Philip. 9. He treated the captives with the most barbarous cruelty, slaughtering or enslaving all his prisoners, and distinguishing the two traitors only by additional tortures at the place of execution. His two illegitimate brothers, who had been hitherto sheltered by the Olynthians, now fell into his hands, and were sacrificed to his jealousy and revenge.

10. In the mean time the Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war which they had so long carried on against the Pho'cians, addressed themselves to Philip, and solicited his assistance. This he readily granted, being glad of so plausible a pretext for interfering in the affairs of Greece, and desiring at the same time to acquire the character of a religious prince; which he knew he should easily do by waging war against those who were convicted of sacrilege.

11. And in order to prevent the Athenians from thwarting his designs by sending aid to the Pho'cians, he took care to amuse them with proposals of peace; which had so good an effect, that they actually sent ten ambassadors, among whom were Æs'chines and Demos'thenes, into Ma'cedon, to carry on the treaty. All of these, however, Philip found means to corrupt, except Demos'thenes: and he thus continued to protract the negotiation, until he had marched into Pho'cis, and compelled the enemy, by the terror of his name, to surrender at discretion.

12. As to the allies of the Pho'cians, and particularly eight thousand mercenaries from Peloponne'sus, he allowed them to return home without molestation; but the Pho'cians themselves were left entirely to his mercy. As this, however, was an affair in which the Greeks in general were concerned, he did not think proper to act in it by his own

private authority, but referred it to the Amphi'c'tyons, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose. But they were so much under his influence, that they served only to give a sanction to his determination. They decreed, that three of the cities of Pho'cis should be demolished; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in the sacrilege, should be stigmatized as accursed, and proscribed as outlaws; that they who remained in the towns should be dispersed in villages, and obliged to pay out of their lands a yearly tribute of sixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple should be restored, (for it is to be observed that Philome'lus, their first leader, had plundered the temple,) and they were adjudged to lose their seat in the council of the Amphi'c'tyons, in which they had a double voice.* 13. This Philip got transferred to himself, which was a very material point, and may be looked upon as the principal step towards his gaining that authority which he afterwards exercised in the affairs of Greece. At the same time he gained, in conjunction with the The'bans, the superintendency of the Pyth'ian games, which the Corin'thians had forfeited, for their having taken part with the Pho'cians. Philip, having in this manner accomplished his professed design, did not think it prudent as yet to disclose his secret views of ambition; he, therefore, returned in triumph into his own country.

14. The next military operation which Philip undertook was against the Thracian Cherso'nese. This peninsula had for many years belonged to the Athenians; and though Co'tys, as king of the country, had lately wrested it from them, and let it to his son Chersoblep'tes, yet he, being unable to defend himself against Philip, restored it to its

* Philip proceeded to execute the decree of the Amphictyons with inflexible cruelty; and the silence with which this was done seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. After their cities were demolished, the inhabitants were driven, like herds of cattle, to the settlements allotted them, and compelled to cultivate the fields for their cruel and unrelenting masters. Three years after these events, Phocis presented a piteous sight of unexampled devastation. The youth and men of mature age had perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity. The once flourishing and populous cities had been razed to the ground, and the villages were thinly inhabited by women and children, and wretched old men, whose silent, but emphatic sorrow, was more expressive than all the complaints they could have uttered, and fitly bespoke the misery of their condition, and the barbarity of their conquerors.

former masters, and reserved only to himself the capital city, Car'dia. But the Cardians, afraid of falling back under the dominion of the Athenians, implored the protection of Philip, which he readily granted them. 15. Diopei'thes, who was the chief of the Athenian colony lately sent to the Cherso'nese, considered this proceeding of Philip as an act of hostility against Athens; and he therefore, by way of retaliation, invaded the maritime parts of Thrace, which Philip had lately conquered. Philip sent a letter to Athens, complaining of this conduct of Diopei'thes, which he represented as an infraction of the peace; and his creatures there were at great pains to show that his complaints were well founded, and that Diopei'thes had acted very improperly. 16. But Demos'thenes, in a speech which he had made upon the occasion, and which may be considered as the foundation of all the other orations that go by the name of Philip'pics, proved that Diopei'thes had done no more than his duty; and that, instead of incurring the censure, he ought to receive the thanks of his country.

17. Philip, however, was no way intimidated by the wordy resistance of his eloquent antagonist: but proceeding still to extend his influence among the different states of Greece, he offered his protection to the Messe'nians and Argives, who had been oppressed by the Spartans; and these being soon after joined by the Thebans, formed altogether a very powerful confederacy. The natural balance against it was a union between Athens and Sparta, which the Spartans pressed with great eagerness, and Philip and the Thebans did all they could to prevent. But Demos'thenes, exerting himself with great spirit, roused up the Athenians, and put them so far on their guard, that, without coming to an open rupture with Philip, they obliged him for the present to remain quiet.

18. Quiet, however, he could not long continue. His restless and enterprising spirit was ever at work. He had long fixed his eye upon the island of Eubœ'a, as being very conveniently situated for favouring the design he had formed against Greece; and he now contrived, upon pretence of an invitation from some of the inhabitants, to send a body of troops thither; by which means he possessed himself of several strong places, dismantled Portmos, and established three tyrants, or kings, over the country. 19. The Athenians were conjured, in this distressful situation, by Plutarch of Ere'tria, to come to the relief of the inhabitants; and

they accordingly despatched a few troops thither under the command of Pho'cion, a general of whom great hopes were entertained, and whose conduct justified the high opinion the public entertained of him.

20. Pho'cion had been long opposed to the politics of Demos'thenes, not because he was blind to the ambition of Philip, but because he despaired of his own countrymen. His own rule of life was strict and severe, formed on the rigid model of the Stoics ; he, therefore, felt more acutely the demoralized condition of Athens, and the depravity which pervaded every class of society. Unfortunately, he took but little trouble to disguise his sentiments, and his bitter sarcasms excited enmity, where gentle remonstrance might have produced good effects. 21. He was accompanied in the expedition to Eubœ'a by Demos'thenes, and the harangues of the orator not a little contributed to the success of the general. The independence of the island was secured. Plutarch, who had invited the Athenians in vain, threw himself into the ranks of their opponents. Pho'cion totally defeated the traitor in a pitched battle, and drove him from the island.

Questions for Examination.

1. How was Alexander educated ?
2. What city in Thrace did Philip subdue ?
3. How did Philip behave in Thessaly ?
4. By whom was the king of Macedon prevented from seizing Thermopylæ ?
5. What were the circumstances of the early life of Demos'thenes ?
6. How did he succeed in his first public speech ?
7. Were these defects overcome ?
8. How did Philip make himself master of Olynthus ?
9. In what manner were the captives treated ?
10. Why was Philip eager to join in the sacred war ?
11. How were the Athenians prevented from interfering ?
12. What punishment was inflicted on the Phocians ?
13. How were the services of Philip rewarded ?
14. What was the next enterprise of the Macedonian king ?
15. How did Diopeithes act ?
16. By whom was his conduct defended ?
17. What were the next proceedings of Philip ?
18. Did he attack any important island ?
19. Were the Athenians invited to assist in repelling this invasion ?
20. What was the character of Phocian ?
21. What was the success of the expedition to Eretria ?

SECTION III.

THE SUCCESSFUL CAREER OF PHILIP.

1. PHILIP, disappointed in his designs upon Eubœ'a, endeavoured to distress the Athenians in another quarter. He well knew that they had most of their supplies of corn from Thrace; and he, therefore, resolved to shut up the ports of that country against them, and particularly to make himself master of Perin'thus* and Byzantium.† 2. Still unwilling, however, to break with them entirely, he took care to amuse them with professions of his regard, and of his extreme reluctance to give them the least offence. Nay, he wrote them a letter, upon the present occasion, in which he strongly insinuated, that they, and not he, were the violaters of the peace. "In the times of enmity," says he, "the most you did was to fit out ships of war against me, and to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; but now you carry your hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the king of Persia, to make him declare war against me." 3. The king of Persia was greatly alarmed at the rapid progress made by the Macedonian monarch, as he clearly saw that his ultimate aim was to accomplish the great design of Jason, and invade Persia at the head of a Greek army collected from all the states. To prevent this, the eastern monarch distributed large sums among the leading orators, and the Persian gold had fully as much influence as patriotism, in the opposition made by the demagogues to Philip. The Macedonian bribed in his turn, and secured a strong body of partisans at Athens, by whose assistance he hoped either to cajole or terrify the multitude, whom their love of pleasure and tranquillity had rendered weak and contemptible.

* Now Eretili, a town of Thrace. It was a very strong town, and very ably defended by its inhabitants. When Philip found all his attempts to take the place ineffectual, he suddenly detached a strong corps of his army to attack Byzantium, which city had been drained of its garrison to defend Perinthus. This scheme would probably have succeeded, had not the arrival of Phocion, with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs, and compelled him to raise the siege of both places.

† A town on the Thracian Bos'phorus, now Constantinople.

4. His letter gave such of the orators as were in Philip's interest a fine opportunity of justifying his conduct. Demos'thenes alone stood firm, and still continued to expose his artful designs : and, in order to remove the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make, he immediately ascended the tribunal, and from thence harangued the people with all the thunder of his eloquence. 5. He told them that the letter was written in a style not suitable to the people of Athens ; that it was a plain declaration of war against them : that Philip had long since made the same declaration by his actions : and that by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing more than a bare cessation of arms, and to fall upon them afresh when they were more unprepared.

6. Though Pho'cion seldom agreed with Demos'thenes in any thing, he heartily assented to what he had now said. He further urged the ignorance of the generals already chosen, especially Cha'res, whom the favour of the populace still retained in command, in spite of the numerous instances of profligacy and incapacity that he had exhibited. 7. But his late failure at Byzan'tium was a disgrace too flagrant to be excused, he was set aside, and Pho'cion himself was appointed to command the troops that were to go against Philip, who was still besieging Byzan'tium. Cha'res had undertaken to defend this city against the Macedonians ; but the Byzan'tines refused to admit into their harbour a leader, whose rapacity made him more formidable than an enemy, and Cha'res was soon after signally defeated by Amyntas, Philip's admiral.

8. Pho'cion's conduct on this occasion did not detract from the high character he had already acquired ; and he was nobly supported by his officers and soldiers, who had an entire confidence in his gallantry and good fortune. 9. He obliged Philip to give over the siege ; he drove him out of the Hel'lespont ; he took some of his ships ; he recovered many fortresses which he had seized ; and having made several descents upon different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to oppose him, he thought proper to retire.

10. Philip, having met with so severe a check { B.C. in Greece, turned his arms against the Scythians, { 340. whom he easily defeated ; but, in his return from Scyth'ia, he was obliged to come to an engagement with the Tri-

bal'li,* when he received a wound in his thigh, and had his horse killed under him. Alexander, who accompanied him in this expedition, immediately flew to his father's relief, and covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

11. During the absence of the Macedonian monarch, a powerful coalition was formed against him by the Grecian states. The Persian king supplied money with a liberal hand; Demos'thenes roused his countrymen by the most animating appeals, and the late triumphant expedition of Pho'cion encouraged those whom the continued successes of Philip had reduced to despair. 12. On this occasion the Athenians repealed the destructive law which ordered the public treasures to be expended in shows and dramatic entertainments; they determined that this fund should for the future be applied to its original and proper destination, and in consequence they were soon able to collect a fleet far superior to the Macedonian navy.

13. The Athenians considered the siege of Byzan'tium as an open declaration of war; and, therefore, in order to retaliate upon Philip, they blocked up his ports by sea, and put an entire stop to his commerce. Philip at first endeavoured to appease them, by offering them terms of peace, which Pho'cion, with his usual moderation, advised them to accept; but Demos'thenes persuaded them to reject with indignation. 14. Philip, therefore, began to form new alliances against them, particularly with the Thebans and Thessa'lians: but knowing how difficult it would be to persuade these powers to act directly against Athens, merely on account of his personal quarrels, he took care to supply them with a more plausible pretext for embracing such a measure. He found means, by his artifice and intrigues, to sow dissensions between the Lo'crians of Amphis'sa and the Amphic'tyonic council. They were accused of impiety, in having ploughed up a spot of sacred ground, which lay near the temple of Apollo, in the same manner as the Pho'cians had done upon a former occasion. 15. This spark, which at first might easily have been extinguished, Æs'chines, the most celebrated orator of his time, next to Demos'thenes, and who was entirely in the interest of Philip, contrived to blow up into a flame; and, by his advice, a

* The inhabitants of the country now called Bulgaria, or, as others say, Servia.

resolution was taken to send a solemn deputation to Philip, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphic'tyons, and to repel the outrages of the impious Amphisæ'ans ; and further to declare, that he was constituted, by the Greeks, a member of the council of Amphic'tyons, and general and commander of the forces, with full and unlimited powers.

16. This was the very station to which Philip had long aspired, and now thought himself supremely happy in having attained. Most of the inferior states of Greece approved of the conduct of the Amphic'tyons, in giving the command of their forces to a man so eminent and illustrious for his piety, and so capable of executing the vengeance of heaven. The Athenians and Spartans, however, considered the matter in a very different light. They saw that while Philip openly affected to vindicate the honour of Apollo, he was secretly promoting the views of his own ambition ; and that, under pretence of aiding one part of the Greeks against the other, he was in reality forging chains for the whole.

17. Nor was it long before their suspicions were { B.C.
justified by the events ; for Philip had no sooner 338.
assembled his forces, than, instead of marching, as he had promised, against the irreverent Lo'crians, he made himself master of Elate'ia, a capital city of Phocis, which was very conveniently situated for awing the Thebans, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for opening to him a way into the heart of At'tica.* By so extraordinary and unsuspected a step, he fairly threw off the mask, and bade defiance, as it were, to the whole body of Grecians.

18. The news of this transaction quickly spread into the neighbouring countries, and, wherever it came, filled the minds of the people with terror and consternation. They now plainly perceived the designs of Philip, which his artifice and their own stupidity had hitherto concealed from their eyes ; but they were at a loss to know what steps they ought to take, in order to render them abortive. 19. Even the Athenians themselves, though they had long apprehended some such event, were as much confounded and alarmed as their neighbours. 20. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived at Athens, to announce the fall of Elatei'a ; the people had retired to their houses, the magis-

* This was Philip's masterpiece, by which he showed that he was able to overreach all the statesmen of Greece ; for if any of the states had suspected his design, they would never have consented to the decree which gave him a free passage into their country.

trates were at supper in the Prytaneium : but in an instant all were abroad. Some went to search for the generals ; others sought the officers whose duty it was to summon the general assembly ; but the greater part hurried to the market-place, and pulled down or burned the booths which had been erected there in order to make room for the meeting on the morrow. Terror and confusion filled Athens, and even the wisest statesmen seemed to have lost all confidence and presence of mind. For when they met in a general assembly on the following morning, in order to deliberate upon the present critical situation of affairs, and the herald, as usual, demanded with a loud voice, " which among them would ascend the tribunal," not one of them had the courage to rise, or open his mouth ; till at last Demos'thenes, animated with the greatness of the approaching danger, and fired with the noble spirit of indignation which he had ever cherished and avowed against the insidious designs of Philip, arose, and in an eloquent harangue, stimulated the people to immediate resistance, and raised their drooping spirits by showing the great resources which were still at their command.

21. He began by infusing into their breast a ray of hope, assuring them that were not the Thebans hostile to Philip, he would not be at Elatei'a, but on the borders of Attica. He then exhorted them to march their forces immediately to Eleu'sis, in order that the friends of Grecian freedom might derive confidence from seeing an army prepared to contend for the common cause ; and proposed that an embassy should be immediately sent to Thebes, offering that state, on the most liberal terms, the alliance and assistance of Athens.

22. This speech, dictated by the feelings of a patriotic heart, and delivered with all that fire and vehemence for which the orator was so remarkable, immediately produced the desired effect. The Athenians determined to follow the advice that had been now given them : they appointed Demos'thenes himself to head the embassy to be sent to Thebes ; and they resolved to fit out a fleet of two hundred sail, to cruise near Thermop'ylæ.

Questions for Examination.

1. What projects did Philip form after his defeat at Eubœa ?
2. Did he endeavour to deceive the Athenians ?
3. Were the public men of Greece very corrupt at this time ?
4. Were all the Athenians deceived by Philip's letter ?

5. How was it answered by Demosthenes ?
6. Who was appointed to command the Athenian army ?
7. Why was Chares set aside ?
8. How did Phocion succeed ?
9. Did Macedon suffer in its turn ?
10. To what danger was Philip exposed in the war with the Tuballi ?
11. What took place during Philip's absence in Scythia ?
12. Did the Athenians repeal any injurious law ?
13. How did they show their hostility to Philip ?
14. In what manner did Philip obtain the assistance of the Thebans ?
15. What was the cause of the Amphissean war ?
16. Were all the Greeks satisfied with the appointment of Philip to the chief command ?
17. What city did Philip seize ?
18. How were the Greeks affected by this news ?
19. How was the account received at Athens ?
20. What was the conduct of Demosthenes on the occasion ?
21. What were the principal topics that he urged ?
22. What was the effect of this speech ?

SECTION IV.

BATTLE OF CHÆRONEIA—DEATH OF PHILIP.

1. UPON his arrival at Thebes, Demos'thenes, found himself opposed by Phi'lon of Byzantium, a man of considerable abilities, whom Philip had purposely sent thither to counteract the designs of the Athenian orator. This, however, he was not able to effect. The masculine eloquence of Demos'thenes carried all before it, and inspired the Thebans with so strong a passion for liberty that they resolved to join their forces with those of the Athenians, in preventing the further progress of the Macedonian arms.*

2. Philip, disconcerted by the union of two such powerful states, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, requesting them to desist from their warlike preparations ; but finding them determined to adhere to their engagements with Thebes, he endeavoured to intimidate both them and their allies by omens and predictions, which he took care to procure from

* This alliance Demos'thenes represented at Athens as a master-stroke of policy, as thereby the war was removed to a distance from Attica ; to which Phocion shrewdly replied, *Let us not be so careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory ; that is the only way to keep the war at a distance. If we are overcome, the very worst of calamities will soon be at our doors.*

the priestess of Apollo. 3. Demos'thenes, however, persuaded them to pay no regard to those ridiculous oracles. He told them that the priestess *Philippized*, thereby insinuating that it was Philip's money which inspired her, and made her draw from Apollo whatever answer she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminon'das, and the Athenians their Per'icles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scarecrows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleu'sis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

B.C. } 4. Philip, conscious of his own abilities, and at
338. } the same time convinced of the extreme weakness of those who commanded the allied army, determined to bring on a general engagement as soon as possible; and, with this view, he advanced into the plain of Chæronei'a,* a place rendered famous by the event of this important contest. 5. His army amounted to about thirty-two thousand men; that of the confederates did not exceed thirty thousand.† But the disparity of numbers was a trifling disadvantage, compared with the deficiency of the allied generals. The Athenians placed at the head of their forces Ly'sicles, of whom nothing was known, and Cha'res, whose utter worthlessness was notorious; the Thebans, with equal folly, gave the command to Theag'enes, a man more than suspected of treachery. Thus in the last struggle for freedom, the chances of success were profligately sacrificed to the intrigues of faction—a complete proof that Greece was now ripe for ruin.

6. And now the fatal morning appeared which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, with the sacred band in front, occupied the right wing of the confederate Greeks; the Athe-

* Situated on the frontiers of Bœotia, and celebrated for having given birth to Plutarch.

† On the eve of the day on which this decisive battle was fought Dio'genes, the *cynic*, who had long looked with equal contempt on either party, was led by curiosity to visit the camps, as an unconcerned spectator. In the Macedo'nian camp, where his person and character were not known, he was stopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king asked him sternly whether he came as a spy: "Yes," said Dio'genes, "I am come as a spy upon your folly and ambition, in thus setting your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

nians, commanded by Ly'sicles and Cha'res, formed the left; and the Corin'thians and Peloponne'sians were posted in the centre. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexan'der, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thes'saly. In the centre were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whose courage he could least depend; while the king himself commanded on the right, where his renowned phalanx stood, to oppose the impetuosity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

7. The charge began on each side with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty could excite in the several combatants. Alexan'der, at the head of the Macedo'nian nobles, first fell with all the fury of youthful courage on the sacred band of Thebes, which sustained the attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths who composed this body, not being timely or duly supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy; till at length, oppressed and overpowered by superior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down on that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, their bodies forming a bulwark against the progress of the enemy. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthusiastic ardour of valour, animated by success, pushed on through all the carnage, and over the heaps of slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans. They were opposed with obstinate and deliberate courage, and the contest was for some time supported with equal resolution on both sides.

8. In the mean time the Athenians, on the left wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boasted, and of the cause by which they were animated. Many gallant efforts were made by either party, and success was for some time doubtful; till at length part of the centre, and the right wing of the Macedo'nians (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. 9. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lys'icles* cried out, "Come on, my gallant countrymen; the victory is ours; let us pursue these cowards, and drive them back to

* Other authors say that this exelamation was uttered by Strat'ocles, another Athenian general.

Macedon." And thus, instead of improving the happy opportunity of charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward in pursuit of the flying enemy, themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a rout.

10. Philip saw this fatal error with all the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation arising from the assurance of approaching victory. He coolly observed to those officers that stood around him, that the Athenians knew not how to conquer; and ordered his phalanx to change its position, and, by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell with their united force on the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible: they were at once overwhelmed, many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring of their wounds: while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter by a shameful and precipitate flight; bearing down and hurrying along with them those troops which had been stationed for their support.

11. While Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of slaughter had already been made, more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thousand were made prisoners; and the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. 12. Philip, therefore, determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his policy and ambition really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks should be spared, carefully locking up in his own breast the design he had formed against their liberties, and hoping one day to march at their head to accomplish the conquest of the Persian monarchy.

13. Philip's behaviour, upon obtaining this victory, is differently represented by different historians. Some say, that he expressed his joy in so extravagant and even ludicrous a manner, as to extort from Dem'ades, one of the Athenian prisoners, the following severe reprimand: "Fortune," said that orator to him, "has assigned you the part of Agamem'-

non,* but you are acting that of Thersi'tes."† Justin, however, represents his conduct in a more amiable and engaging light. He says, that he was at great pains to dissemble his joy; that he affected extreme modesty, and the utmost compassion for the prisoners; that he was not even seen to laugh; that he would have no sacrifice, no crowns, no perfumes; that he forbade all kinds of sports; and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be insolent. 14. Certain it is, that he immediately concluded a peace with the Athenians; and, though he treated the Thebans, as unfaithful allies, with greater severity, yet, after compelling them to pay a ransom for their prisoners, and a large sum of money for leave to bury their dead, and after placing a garrison in their citadel, he agreed to make peace with them also.

15. It is said that Isoc'rates, the celebrated rhetorician, was so deeply affected when he heard of the loss of the battle of Chærone'ia, that, unable to survive the disgrace which that event had brought upon his country, he hastened his end by abstaining from all food; he was then in the ninety-eighth year of his age.‡

16. Lys'icles, who had the chief command of the Athenians in this engagement, and by whose misconduct the battle had been lost, was soon after summoned before an assembly of the people, and condemned to die at the instance of Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence in the city, but who was a severe judge and a most bitter accuser. "You, Lys'icles," said he, "were general of the army; a thousand citizens were slain, two thousand taken prisoners; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved. You had the command when all these things

* Agamemnon was king of Argos, and commander-in-chief of the confederated Greeks at the siege of Troy.

† A chief in the same army, more celebrated for satire and buffoonery than valour.

‡ Isocrates was the son of Theodorus, a musical instrument maker, at Athens. Though, from an unconquerable timidity, he never spoke in the popular assemblies, he opened a school of eloquence at Athens, where he distinguished himself by the number, character, and fame of his pupils, and by the immense riches which he amassed. Isocrates has always been admired for the sweetness and graceful simplicity of his style, for the harmony of his expressions, and the dignity of his language. The remains of his orations extant inspire the world with the highest veneration of his abilities as an orator, a moralist, and, above all, as a man.

happened ; and yet you dare to live, and view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publicly in the forum ; you, Lys'icles, who are born the monument of your country's shame !”

17. Cha'res, who was probably as guilty as Lys'icles, appears to have escaped merely through the insignificance of his character. Indeed, his abilities were so contemptible, that, according to Timo'theus, “he was much fitter to carry the general's baggage, than to be a general himself.”

18. Many people thought that Demos'thenes might, on account of his speeches, be considered as the real cause of that terrible blow which Athens had now sustained, and that upon him, therefore, would certainly fall the principal weight of the national resentment. But in this they were disappointed. The Athenians were so fully convinced of his integrity and patriotism, that at the very moment they were smarting under the wound they had just received, they submitted entirely to his counsels and direction. Indeed, he appears to have been highly deserving of all the confidence they reposed in him. For being appointed, at this time, to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, he executed the latter commission with so much generosity, that as the public treasure was unequal to the expense, he made up the deficiency out of his own private fortune.

19. In the mean time, Philip had his ambition pleased, but not satisfied, with his last victory. The sovereignty of Greece, even if he had acquired it, he always considered but as a secondary object, and only as the means of preparing his way for the conquest of Persia, which he had long planned in his mind, and hoped to be able one day to accomplish. But this he knew he could not do without the assistance of the Greeks, which, however, he thought he could the more easily procure for such an undertaking, as they had long burned with an ardent desire of revenging upon Persia the injuries they had received from it, and of accomplishing the total destruction of that empire.

20. Philip, therefore, now proposing to lead them to such a glorious gratification of their revenge, they readily chose him generalissimo of their forces ; and he accordingly began to make preparations for invading the dominions of the Persian monarch.

21. But while Philip was thus successful in his public undertakings, the violent dissensions that reigned in his family destroyed all his private peace, and at last brought

him to an untimely end. He had married Olym'pias, daughter of the king of Epi'rus, and the early part of their union was crowned with happiness: but, as she was naturally of a peevish and vindictive disposition, a coldness first, and afterwards a rooted aversion, took place between them. 22. A woman, indeed, of less fiery and vindictive passions, might well have been displeased at his continual infidelity; and her son Alexan'der not only felt indignant at the neglect with which his mother was treated, but saw his succession to the throne rendered precarious by the increased number of competitors. At the nuptials of Philip with Cassan'dra, the daughter of At'talus, one of his favourite generals, the father and son came to an open rupture, and were never again completely reconciled.

23. Meantime the preparations for the invasion of Persia proceeded, when the dagger of an assassin suddenly deprived Macedon of her greatest monarch. For while Philip was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Cleopa'tra, with Alexander, king of Epi'rus, and brother to his queen Olym'pias, he was suddenly stabbed in the height of the solemnity, and in the midst of his guards, by one Pausa'nias, a noble Macedonian, whom At'talus, his favourite general, had cruelly abused, and who, having repeatedly demanded reparation of the king in vain, at last turned the edge of his resentment from the author of his wrong to his sovereign himself, and took this dreadful method of satiating his revenge.*

24. Thus died Philip, a prince possessed of great abilities both in peace and war, but much fonder of gaining his ends by dexterity and address than by force of arms. His character has been thus drawn by an able historian: "Philip of Macedon was by much the most sagacious prince of his age. He had a perfect idea of the state of his own country, the condition of Greece, and the weakness of the Persian empire. He was secret without affecting reserve; eloquent without either being ready to speak or vain of speaking; obliging in his deportment as a king, and yet never departing from his dignity as a sovereign. In the field he was a

* The instigator of this rash act is not known; some say that Pausa'nias was instigated by Olym'pias; others that he was bribed by the Persian king. This latter opinion derives some confirmation from the fact of Alexander's having alleged in his declaration of war, that the assassination of his father was one of the causes for his invading the Persian empire.



Philip hearing the poor woman's appeal.

complete general, an expert engineer, and an indefatigable soldier. He studied war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement as at a review. He was learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. On the other hand, his ambition was boundless; his treaties always gave way to his interest; he was the most finished dissembler of his time; extremely severe to those who opposed his designs, and addicted to vices which bring great disgrace upon his memory.”*

25. The news of his death was a joyful surprise in Greece, and particularly at Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if Philip had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy very ill became them, because it was altogether inconsistent with their late behaviour to that prince, for when he was chosen generalissimo of the Greeks, and still more when he celebrated the nuptials of his daughter, the Athenians were the most forward and the most fulsome in their compliments to him, and carried their adulation so far as almost to exalt him to the rank of a god.

* There were many fine traits in the character of Philip. It is related of him, that on one occasion a poor woman, against whom he had just decided a cause when under the influence of wine, exclaimed, “I appeal!” “To whom?” asked Philip. “To Philip in his sober senses!” replied the woman, firmly. The king, struck with this answer, examined the affair again, and finding his former decision unjust, made ample reparation at his own expense.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did Demosthenes succeed at Thebes ?
2. By what means did Philip endeavour to terrify the allies ?
3. How did Demosthenes frustrate this ?
4. Where was the decisive engagement fought ?
5. In what respect was Philip's army superior to that of the allies ?
6. How were the armies drawn out at Chæroneia ?
7. By whom was the sacred Theban band subdued ?
8. Were the Athenians at first successful ?
9. How was this advantage lost ?
10. By what tactics did Philip decide the fate of the day ?
11. What was the loss of the confederates ?
12. Did Philip exhibit any clemency to the defeated army ?
13. What different representations are given of Philip's conduct after the victory ?
14. On what conditions was peace granted ?
15. Is there any strange account of the death of Isocrates ?
16. What become of Lysicles ?
17. Was Chares put to death ?
18. Did the people punish Demosthenes for having advised this unfortunate war ?
19. What was the great object of Philip's ambition ?
20. Did he succeed ?
21. Had Philip any domestic uneasiness ?
22. What were the causes of these family quarrels ?
23. How did Philip die ?
24. What was his character ?
25. How was the news received in Greece ?

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR ASIA.

1. WE have now arrived at a period when the Greeks united as one people, and under the guidance of a single commander, extended their sway over central Asia, and for a brief space possessed one of the most splendid empires recorded in history. Every thing in the career of Alexander is so extraordinary ; the magnitude and rapidity of his conquests apparently so far transcend his limited means—his political wisdom seeming to have formed plans beyond what should have been expected from the knowledge of the age—his valour as a soldier, his skill as a general, his wisdom as

a statesman, and even his weaknesses as a man, require us to pay more attention to him individually, than is usually given to a single person in historical summaries. This, indeed, is the more requisite in the present instance, as the Grecian history for several years is completely identified with the exploits of Alexander, and we shall therefore give some account of the education and early life of a monarch who is to occupy so great a share of our attention.

B.C. } 2. Alexander was born at Pella, on the very day
356. } that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned to the ground. Those who interpret omens by subsequent events remarked, that the conflagration of the greatest ornament of Asia symbolized the destruction which at a future period he should bring on the Asiatic empires. On the day of his birth, Philip received the news of a victory obtained by his general Parme'nio over the Illyrians, and of his horses having obtained the first prize at the Olympic games. These coincidences, in an age of superstition, were supposed to be certain types of future greatness, and Philip took the most efficacious means to ensure their accomplishment, by giving his son the best possible education. 3. Of his progress up to his fifteenth year, nothing certain is recorded, but at that age he was placed under the tuition of Aristotle, one of the greatest philosophers of antiquity. B.C. } The mutual attachment of the philosopher and pupil
342. } was equally creditable to both ; Aristotle opened to his pupil all his vast stores of wisdom, and Alexander availed himself of these advantages to the utmost. 4. The poems of Homer were, however, the principal objects of his youthful admiration ; with the character of Achil'les he was more peculiarly struck ; he proposed it as an example for his own imitation, but unfortunately we shall find that he copied the defects as closely as the virtues of that hero. 5. At an early age he was introduced by his father into public life ; he received the Persian ambassadors when not quite sixteen, and astonished them by his pertinent inquiries respecting the political condition and revenues of Persia. Soon after he was appointed regent of Macedon, while his father was besieging Byzan'tium ; two years after he commanded the left wing of the Macedonian army at the battle of Chæronei'a, and cut down the sacred Theban band.*

* The anecdote of Alexander's subduing and managing the famous horse Bucephalus, is familiar to most readers.



Alexander managing the horse Bucephalus.

6. Alexander had scarcely completed his twentieth } B.C.
year when he commenced his reign ; his first care } 336.
was to punish those who had a share in his father's death ;
and on this occasion Amyntas, who had been set aside to
make room for Philip, fell a victim either to his revenge, or
to his policy. 7. The situation of Macedon, though not
quite so dangerous as at the accession of Philip, was still
sufficiently difficult to daunt a monarch possessing less
courage than Alexander. The barbarous nations on the
south-west and east of Macedon were preparing to renounce
their subjection, and renew their depredations ; in the south
a strong party was preparing to maintain the cause of
Grecian independence ; Sparta was avowedly hostile, Athens
all but so, and secret conspiracies were forming in other
states. 8. The first care of Alexander was to have his
authority acknowledged in Thessaly—the rapidity of his
march prevented all possibility of opposition, if any such
were intended—he arrived at Larissa, and was at once
invested with the authority which his father had previously
possessed. From thence he went to Thermopylae, and was
received with distinguished honours by the Amphictyonic
council. He was acknowledged as his father's successor in
the presidency of the council, and in the government of the
religious ceremonies. 9. Finally, he proceeded to attend
the general assembly of deputies from the Grecian states at
Corinth, and was there formally appointed to head the
forces of the confederacy in the Persian war. The Spar-
tans, with their usual pride, refused their consent to this

arrangement, but the Athenians were lavish in their expressions of satisfaction and congratulation.

B.C. } 10. Having thus arranged the affairs of southern
335. } Greece, Alexander resolved to march against the fierce
tribes which threatened Macedon on the north and west.
He advanced into Thrace, and met with no opposition until
he reached the chain of Mount Hæmus, now called the
Balkan, whose defiles, though formidable, have both in
ancient and modern times yielded to intrepid courage.*

11. The mountaineers prepared for a vigorous defence; they occupied the summit of the hills which commanded the only practicable pass, and fortified themselves behind heavy wagons, which they determined to roll down upon the invaders. Alexander ordered his men to open their ranks when the wagons rolled down; but where that was impracticable, he commanded them to throw themselves on the ground, and form a kind of penthouse of their shields, so as to permit the wagons to roll over them. By this artifice the enemy's means of defence were wasted in vain, and the Macedonians encouraged by their success attacked the enemies' lines, and routed them with great slaughter. 12. He now advanced towards the Danube, and having defeated the Tribal'li, who thought to cut off his rear, came to the river, and found the Ge'tæ strongly posted on the opposite bank. Having constructed rafts, he transported across the stream in one night, a thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry. The Ge'tæ, astonished at this unexpected movement, fled without resistance, their town was taken, and the victorious army rewarded with abundant spoil. The other tribes north of the Danube submitted to the conqueror, and Alexander, having secured his dominions on that side, prepared to march against the western Illy'rians.

13. This expedition was equally successful with the former; the Macedonians, indeed, at first suffered some checks; but the barbarians, instead of pursuing their advantages, gave themselves up to riot and debauchery. Alexander took advantage of their carelessness, attacked them when they were off their guard, and obtained a decisive victory. So complete was the overthrow of the Illyrians, that they never ventured on a new insurrection during the entire of his reign.

* They were forced by the Russian general, Count Diebitsch, in the late Turkish war.

14. Unexpected news from southern Greece called Alexander to a new scene of action. The Thebans, anxious to recover their freedom, had revolted, and after having massacred part of the Macedonian garrison, were closely besieging the remainder in the citadel. Alexander saw that if he wished to retain the supremacy of Greece which his father had acquired with so much difficulty, no time was to be lost. 15. He traversed the intervening country with so much rapidity, that he was the first herald of his own approach, and the Thebans could scarce credit the intelligence, that Alexander, whom they believed still in Illyria, was already within sight of their walls. The Athenians who had encouraged the revolt were not yet in arms, the Arca'dian auxiliaries had scarcely commenced their march; the Thebans found themselves obliged to bear the brunt of the war alone, and relying on the strength of their walls, they obstinately refused all offers of accommodation.

16. An accident revealed to one of the Macedonian generals a weak part of the Theban fortifications; without waiting for orders he commenced an assault, and in the midst of the contest, the garrison of the citadel attacked the Thebans in the rear, and threw open one of the gates to their countrymen. 17. The horrors perpetrated at the storming of Thebes have been rarely paralleled in the annals of war; we have seen in the course of this history, that the Thebans were cruel victors—they now met a fearful retribution; in the ranks of the Macedonian army were Phocians, Thespians, and Platæans, whose native countries had been ruthlessly destroyed—they felt that the hour of vengeance was come, and they abused it to the utmost. 18. After the slaughter had ceased, the fate of Thebes was debated in the council of the Macedonian confederates—it was determined that the city should be levelled with the ground, and all the citizens sold into slavery. The principal opponents of the war were exempted from this decree, as were also the descendants of the poet Pindar, whose odes Alexander enthusiastically admired.

19. The Theban cavalry escaped to Athens, and filled that city with dismay. The Athenians, conscious of having participated in the revolt of the Thebans, naturally dreaded that they would be the next victims of the young monarch's resentment. 20. Their first step was to send ambassadors to congratulate Alexander on his late successes, but as these were selected from the anti-Macedo'nian party, Alexander

refused to admit them into his presence. Another deputation was sent, which met with better success—Alexander offered peace to the Athenians, on condition that eight of the leading orators and two of the generals should be given up, to take their trial as common enemies of Grecian tranquillity. 21. Demos'thenes, whose name was in the fatal list, dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to these terms, by the well-known fable of the wolves that offered peace to the sheep, on condition of their banishing the guardian dogs. A new embassy was sent to solicit better terms, and Alexander, desirous to efface the remembrance of the cruelties he had practised at Thessaly, by his present clemency, withdrew the obnoxious demand. He only insisted on the banishment of Charide'mus, whom he suspected of having been an accomplice in his father's murder; and this Athenian general was permitted to retire into Persia.

22. The troubles in Greece being thus brought to a close, Alexander was left at liberty to prepare for the great object of his ambition, the invasion of Persia. Though that empire had fallen from the height of power which it possessed in the reign of Cyrus the Great, or even in the time of Xerxes, it still possessed immense resources both in men and money. All the countries from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to the borders of India, and from the coasts of the Caspian to those of the ocean, were subject to the Persian king; Egypt had been lately reunited to the empire, and several insurgent provinces brought back to their allegiance. The treasury was full, the army recruited by numerous bodies of Grecian mercenaries, and the sovereign more popular among his subjects than any of his predecessors had been. 23. On the other hand, Alexander was miserably deficient in pecuniary resources; the state was heavily sunk in debt, and he had to mortgage all the royal domains for eight hundred talents, before he could venture to begin his march. His entire army, including the allies, amounted only to about thirty thousand foot, and five thousand cavalry,—a force scarcely sufficient to garrison a Persian province, but which, however, was destined to subvert that powerful empire.

24. The government of Macedon was intrusted to Antipater, and a body of twelve thousand men placed under his command, for in addition to all his other disadvantages, Alexander was exposed to the danger of a new insurrection in Greece during his absence.

Questions for Examination.

1. Why is the personal character of Alexander worthy of particular notice ?
2. Are there any remarkable circumstances connected with the day of his birth ?
3. By whom was the education of Alexander conducted ?
4. What author was the principal favourite of the youthful hero ?
5. Did Alexander commence public life at an early age ?
6. How did Alexander begin his reign ?
7. To what dangers was the young monarch exposed ?
8. How was Alexander received in Thessaly ?
9. In what manner was he treated by the assembly at Corinth ?
10. Against what enemies did he next march ?
11. How did the Macedonians effect the passage of Mount Hæmus ?
12. In what manner did Alexander subdue the Getæ ?
13. How were the Illyrians conquered ?
14. What events compelled Alexander to return speedily into southern Greece ?
15. Did Alexander make a rapid march ?
16. What led to the sudden capture of Thebes ?
17. Was there much severity shown to the conquered Thebans ?
18. Were any of the Thebans spared ?
19. How were the Athenians affected by this news ?
20. What demand did Alexander make of the Athenians ?
21. How was this demand avoided ?
22. What was the condition of Persia at the time of the Macedonian invasion ?
23. Had Alexander forces equal to those of Persia ?
24. Who was left behind as governor of Macedon ?

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE INVASION OF ASIA TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

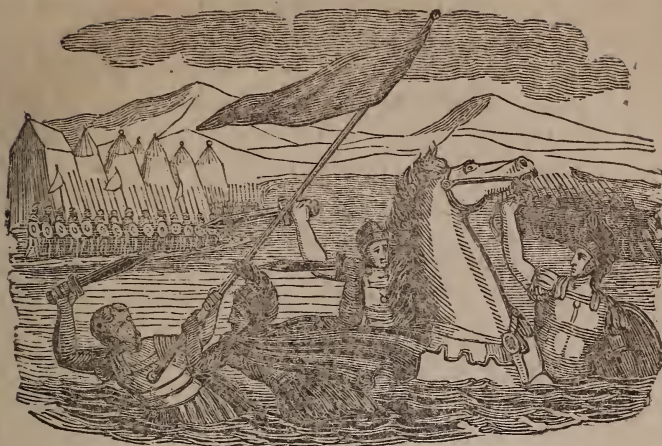
SECTION I.

CONQUEST OF WESTERN ASIA.

1. WHEN Alexander had completed all his preparations, he ordered his fleet to await his arrival in the Hel'lespont, while he marched with the army into the Thracian Cher'sonese. From thence his forces were transported across the strait to the plains of Troy, without encountering any opposition from the Persian navy, though

it far exceeded the Macedo'nian in strength, and might easily have opposed, if not totally prevented his landing. 2. Alexander was the first that leaped on shore, and finding himself in the fields immortalized by his favourite poet, he ordered games and sacrifices to be performed in honour of the Homeric heroes. 3. The Persian satraps having recovered from their surprise, began to concentrate their forces at Relei'a, a city on the Pro'pontis, but there was little unity and little wisdom in their councils; they were not subject to a single head, and mutual jealousy prevented them from agreeing on the choice of a commander. 4. Memnon the brother of Mentor, whom we mentioned in the former chapter, advised that the country should be laid waste, and the Macedo'nians forced back by hunger, but Arsi'tes, the governor of Phryg'ia, refused to allow such devastation in a province that he commanded. After much delay, they resolved to contest the passage of the Gran'icus, a river of some magnitude flowing from the chain of mount I'da into the Propon'tis.

5. Alexander on the first news of the enemies' appearance had marched against them; and when his scouts announced their vicinity and position, immediately prepared to force a passage. Parme'nio, daunted by the danger of fording a river in the very teeth of superior forces, vainly endeavoured to dissuade his sovereign from the attempt, but Alexander, justly deeming that the very hardihood of the assault would terrify the Persians, immediately formed his order of battle. 6. Placing himself at the head of the Companion-cavalry, as the royal guards were called, he gave the word, and Ptolemy at the head of the right wing dashed into the river. They were met on the opposite bank by Memnon with the flower of the Persian cavalry, who forced Ptolemy back on Alexander's own brigade. The young king immediately dashed forward with the Companions on the thickest of Memnon's squadrons, and soon cleared a space for the other troops. 7. The struggle was now fierce and stern, resembling rather the personal encounters in the age of chivalry, than a regular pitched battle. The Macedo'nian cavalry were heavily armed, the Persian forces principally consisted of light horse, and consequently the latter were soon borne down by the superior weight of the hostile squadrons. 8. Alexander's personal bravery was very conspicuous in this battle; he slew two of the Persian leaders with his own hand: but while thus engaged he would have



Commencement of the battle of the Granicus.

fallen beneath the cimeter of Spithrida'tes, had not Clei'tus, a captain of the Companions, cut off the satrap's hand as it was descending with the fatal blow. 9. The left wing of the Persians was soon broken, and shortly after their right was driven in by Parme'nio ; a sudden panic seized their lines, and they fled before the phalanx could advance to the attack of the centre. The Grecian mercenaries in Persian pay were thus deserted, and almost totally cut to pieces by the Macedo'nians, who looked upon them as traitors to their country. This was a glorious but not a bloody victory. The loss of the Macedo'nians did not exceed two hundred men, and the Persians could not have suffered severely, as there was no pursuit. 10. Alexander honourably interred the fallen, and gave orders that the statues of the twenty-five Companions who were slain should be cast in bronze by Lysippus, the most celebrated sculptor of the age. These statues were set up at Di'um, in Macedo'nia, from whence they were many years after removed to Rome.

11. The battle of the Gran'icus was followed by the submission of many of the most important provinces in Asia Minor ; Sar'dis, the capital of Lydia, with all its treasures, was surrendered at the first summons, even though its citadel was impregnable ; Ephesus acknowledged the authority of Alexander, and so many powerful cities were yielded up, that it is hard to acquit the governors of treachery. Mile'tus was the only Ionian city that ventured on resistance, but it was soon taken by storm, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword.

12. Darius, on receiving the news of his army's defeat at the Gran'icus, appointed Memnon his lieutenant-general in Asia Minor, and this able leader took vigorous measures to oppose the farther progress of Alexander. But being badly seconded by the other satraps, he was unable to interpose any effectual check, and Alexander made himself master of all the coasts of the Ægei'an sea. 13. On the approach of winter, leave of absence was given to all the lately-married Macedo'nians to visit their families; and they on their return spread the fame of their victories through all Greece. Alexander did not spend the winter in idleness, he extended his conquests over several minor provinces, arranged the government of those already subdued, and removed his head-quarters to Gor'dium, a central city of Lesser Asia, conveniently situated for opening the next campaign, in any direction that might be deemed most advisable.

14. Gor'dium was celebrated as the residence of the opulent Midas, and the line of Phrygian kings descended from him. In the citadel was preserved the cart of Gor'dius, the father of Midas, the yoke of which was fastened to the pole by a strip of bark, tied in a complicated knot. Ancient tradition had declared, that whoever could unravel that knot should be lord of Asia, and Alexander hastened to accomplish the omen. 15. How the king effected his purpose is uncertain, some say that he cut the knot with his sword, others that he really solved the difficulty—certain it is that all, from henceforward, believed him to have fulfilled the conditions of the oracle, and to be consequently the destined lord of Asia.

B.C. } 16. Alexander opened the next campaign by in-
333. } vading Paphlago'nia and Cappado'cia, both of which
provinces were easily subdued. From thence he proceeded southwards to Cili'cia, through the difficult passes of Mount Taurus. On his road he learned that the satrap of Cili'cia was about to adopt the line of defence recommended by Memnon, and devastate the country. By a rapid march this plan was disconcerted, and the Macedo'nian army reached Tar'sus before there was time for its destruction. 17. The fatigue of this rapid march and the heat of the weather overpowered the young king; hoping to refresh himself, he imprudently plunged into the cold stream of the Cyd'nus, and was instantaneously seized with violent fever, which threatened fatal consequences.—18. While suffering under this disease, Alexander exhibited a noble example of intrepid

courage and generous confidence. He received a letter denouncing his physician Philip as a traitor, who had been bribed to take him off by poison, at the very moment that the physician stood by his bed-side with a medicinal draught. The king presenting the letter to Philip, unhesitatingly drank off the potion; his confidence was amply repaid, for the medicine brought about a favourable change, and in a short time he was restored to his anxious army.

19. Soon after this the Greeks heard the news of Memnon's death; he appears to have been far the most able of the satraps, and had he lived might probably have altered the destiny of Asia. He died at the very moment that he was about to stir up the states in southern Greece, to renew the war against Macedon, and thus recall Alexander to the defence of his own country; his plans died with him, for the other officers of Darius were equally destitute of courage and ability.

20. From Cili'cia, Alexander was advancing along the sea coast into Syria, when the news reached him that his great rival Dari'us had advanced to meet him, and was already at Is'sus, in his rear. The advance of the Persian into the rugged and difficult country on the borders of Syria, had been severely condemned by the Athenian exile Charide'mus, and Dari'us, so far from feeling grateful to his monitor, ordered him to be put to death. 21. But his avenger was at hand; Alexander no sooner heard of the advance of Dari'us, than he retraced his steps, and nothing daunted by the overwhelming superiority of the Persians, boldly prepared for action. 22. The army of Dari'us was drawn up at the base of a mountain-chain skirted by the little river Pin'arus; the wings were composed of native Persians, but the centre was formed of Greek mercenaries, men not inferior to the Macedo'nians in valour or discipline. 23. The battle commenced by Alexander's leading his right wing across the stream, and charging the Persians on the opposite bank; they fell back on the body-guard of the Persian king, called the Immortals, and the fight was renewed with fresh vigour; at length these too were broken, and the triumph of the right wing was complete. 24. But the left and centre were not equally fortunate. The Greek mercenaries broke through the serried lines of the phalanx, and the Persian cavalry not waiting to be attacked, had crossed the river, and fallen on the Thessalian horse. Alexander with his victorious band fell on the flank of the

Greek mercenaries, at the very moment when their success was all but certain, and soon threw their lines into confusion ; at the same time, the infantry on the left pressing forward defeated the opposing Persians, and the cowardice of Dari'us completed the rout. 25. He fled from the field with so much rapidity, that his chariot, bow, and royal mantle, fell into the hands of the victors, and his army, as is usual with Asiatics, imitated his example. Even the cavalry, though partially successful, turned their horses when they heard of their prince's flight, and hurrying through the crowded defiles, trampled down their unfortunate comrades. 26. Ten thousand Persian horse, and one hundred thousand foot, are said to have fallen in this fatal field ; and when we consider the difficulties that impeded their flight, the number can scarcely appear an exaggeration. The Persian camp, with all its enormous wealth, was the immediate result of this victory. Among the captives were the mother, queen, and daughters of Dari'us, whom Alexander treated with the greatest kindness and generosity.*

27. The greater part of Syr'ia and Phœ'nicia submitted

* The generosity of Alexander to the royal prisoners is one of the most honourable traits in his character. Having heard their lamentations on receiving a false account of the death of Darius, he immediately sent Leona'tus, one of his principal officers, to undeceive them ; and next day he himself paid them a visit, when he did every thing in his power to comfort and solace them. On his entering their apartment with Hephæstion, his favourite friend, Sysigambis fell at the feet of the latter, mistaking him for the king : some of the attendants, however, having by signs pointed out her error, she, greatly confused, hastened to pay her respects to Alexander. Taking her by the hand, and raising her up, he kindly endeavoured to soothe her agitation, by saying, " Do not be uneasy, mother ; you were not in the wrong, for he too is an Alexander." He told them, that no part of their former state should be withheld from them ; but that they should enjoy every convenience and accommodation, as in the court of Darius. Observing the infant son of Darius standing by his mother, he took him in his arms. The child, without discovering the least sign of terror, stretched out his arms to the conqueror, who, being affected with its confidence, said to Hephæstion who attended him, " Oh ! that Darius had some share, some portion of this infant's generosity." That he might prevent every suspicion of design on the chastity of Darius's consort, and at the same time remove every cause of fear or anxiety from her mind, he resolved never to visit her tent more, although she was one of the most beautiful women of her time. This moderation, so becoming in a royal conqueror, gave occasion to that noted observation of Plutarch, " That the princesses of Persia lived in an enemy's camp, as if they had been in some sacred temple, unseen, unapproached, and unmolested."



Alexander visiting the family of Darius.

to Alexander after his victory at Issus, and immense treasures were either betrayed by their guides or captured by the Thessalian cavalry. 28. The Tyr'ians sent ambassadors, offering submission; but when Alexander demanded that they should admit him into the city, under pretence of offering sacrifices to the Tyr'ian Hercules, (supposed to be the Moloch of Scripture,) the citizens, justly suspicious of his designs, returned a flat refusal, and relying on the security of their situation, set him at defiance. Preparations were immediately made to besiege the town, and Alexander had now to undertake a task far more difficult than any in which he had been hitherto engaged.

Questions for Examination.

1. What favourable opportunity of checking the Macedonian Invasion did the Persians neglect?
2. Where did Alexander land?
3. Where did the Persians begin to concentrate their forces?
4. Did they agree in their councils?
5. How did Alexander resolve to act when he learned the position of the Persian army?
6. In what manner did the battle of the Granicus commence?
7. For what was this battle remarkable?
8. Did Alexander expose himself to any personal danger?
9. How was the fate of the day decided?
10. How did Alexander honour the soldiers that fell?
11. What were the consequences of the battle of the Granicus?
12. To whom did Darius intrust the command of his forces?
13. How did Alexander spend his first winter in Asia?
14. For what was Gordium remarkable?

15. What stories are related of Alexander and the Gordian knot ?
 16. How was the second campaign in Asia opened ?
 17. What danger did Alexander encounter from imprudent bathing ?
 18. Did he exhibit any remarkable instance of intrepidity during his illness ?
 19. Whose death at this time was a great loss to the Persians ?
 20. What imprudent measures did Darius take ?
 21. How did Alexander behave when he learned his rival's approach ?
 22. In what manner was the Persian army drawn out ?
 23. How did the battle begin ?
 24. In what manner did Alexander behave in this fight ?
 25. Why was the cowardice of Darius fatal to the Persians ?
 26. What were the results of the victory at Issus ?
 27. Did any provinces submit in consequence ?
 28. How did the Tyrians provoke Alexander ?
-

SECTION II.

CONQUEST OF TYRE, EGYPT, AND CENTRAL ASIA.

1. THE Phœnicians were the first people who cultivated commerce ; at an age when Greece was still possessed only by barbarous tribes of hunters and shepherds, the Phœnician mariners had visited all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and had even ventured into the Atlantic ocean. Sidon was at first their capital, but it was soon eclipsed by the rising greatness of Tyre, which, even before the Trojan war, had become the great emporium of all commerce between Asia and Europe. In the emphatic language of the prophet Isaiah, she was " the crowning city whose merchants were princes, and whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth." The shores of Africa, Sicily, and Spain, were colonized by Tyrian settlers, united to the parent state by a community of religious rites ; for the temple of the Tyrian Hercules was to the Phœnicians what Delphi was to the Greeks, the great sanctuary of the nation. 2. Old Tyre stood on the sea-coast, but having been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, it was deserted by the citizens, and a new town erected on an island separated from the shore by a narrow strait, about half a mile in breadth. As the island was small it was easily fortified, and for the same reason the population was greatly crowded—the walls were wide and lofty, their foundations secured by buttresses projecting into the sea, and on the battlements were numerous soldiers, supplied

with every munition of war that wealth could purchase. 3. Such was the city which Alexander undertook to besiege, though he had not at the time a fleet to blockade its harbours, or protect his soldiers in their operations.

4. His first attempt was to run out a causeway from Old Tyre to the walls; but this was soon found to be a work of infinite toil; and when the mound had advanced a little, the Tyrian galleys attacked the workmen in flank, and committed fearful havoc. 5. Soon after the garrison sent out a fire-ship, and placed it beside the mound, while their vessels attacked the soldiers and workmen. The assault was successful, the Macedo'nians, blinded by the smoke, and confused by the attacks on their flanks, fell back in confusion, and in a few minutes the mole with all its engines was destroyed. 6. It now became manifest, that without the assistance of a fleet Tyre could never be taken, and Alexander was fortunate enough to be joined by the navies of Phœni'cia and Cy'prus at the critical moment. The Tyrian galleys were forced to take refuge in their harbours, a new and wider mole was commenced, which the workmen, now protected by their fleet, pushed on with great vigour, and detachments sent out in rafts attacked the city walls in every quarter where there seemed any possibility of effecting a breach. 7. On the other hand the Tyrians made incredible efforts to protract their defence, they caught some of the besiegers with grappling irons, and dragged them within the walls; others they overwhelmed with stones and beams darted from their engines, but their most formidable means of annoyance was showers of heated sand, which, penetrating through the chinks of the armour, burned to the very bone.

8. At length a breach was made in the southern { B.C.
wall, and orders were given to prepare for the assault. { 332.
The siege had now lasted about six months; the army of Alexander, accustomed to rapid conquest, were enraged at the wearying delay caused by the obstinacy of the Tyrians, and were besides eager to avenge the murder of some of their brethren, who, having been accidentally taken prisoners, were barbarously put to death on the walls, in sight of the besiegers. 9. The fleet was divided into three squadrons, two attacked the Tyrian harbours, the third came to anchor opposite the breach, and throwing out moveable bridges, made a way for the storming-party. The Tyrians in the last moment of their struggle bravely maintained

their former fame ; but nothing could withstand the ardour of Alexander ; the towers next the breach and a part of the wall were secured, while at the same time the principal harbour was forced by the Phœnician fleet. 10. The city was "taken, but not rendered ;" from house to house, and from street to street, every inch of ground was disputed, mercy was neither asked for nor given, until the greater part of the garrison had fallen. The surviving citizens with their wives and children were sold into slavery, except a few that had taken refuge in the temple of the Tyrian Hercules, and owed their safety to the sanctity of the place.

11. During the siege, Alexander received an embassy from Dari'us, offering him his daughter in marriage, and the western provinces of Asia as her dowry. Parme'nio, seduced by the magnitude of the offer, eagerly pressed its acceptance. "Were I Alexander," said he, "I would accept such terms." "So would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parme'nio." In conclusion he dismissed the ambassadors, declaring that he would not accept half of the empire of Asia, when fate had destined him to possess the entire.

12. From Phœnicia, Alexander marched to Palestine, and found no town resist his progress but Ga'za, which was bravely defended by Ba'tis the governor. The town was finally taken by storm, and the garrison refusing quarter, put to the sword. 13. The Jews having adhered faithfully to the Persian cause, dreaded the resentment of the conqueror, and sent a deputation to solicit pardon, which was readily granted. According to Jose'phus, the Jewish historian, Jaddu'a, the high priest, went to meet Alexander in his sacred robes, and the Macedo'nian monarch no sooner beheld him approach, than he prostrated himself in adoration of the holy name inscribed on the priest's diadem. When the astonished nobles asked the cause of this reverence, Alexander replied, that such a person had appeared to him in a vision before he left Mace'don, and invited him to undertake the conquest of Asia. Jaddu'a still further won the favour of Alexander, by pointing out to him those passages in the book of Daniel,* where his conquest of Persia is distinctly foretold. Such is the narrative of Jose'phus, but doubts of its truth have been entertained by many historians.

14. Egypt next attracted the attention of Alexander, and

* Daniel, chap. viii.

thither he led his victorious army ; but the Egyptians had never been very faithful subjects of the Persians, by whom their country had been oppressed, and their religion insulted. They, therefore, readily submitted to Alexander, and this important country was acquired without the loss of a single man, or the shedding of one drop of blood. 15. Ever anxious to forward the interests of commerce, Alexander selected the site of Alexandrei'a as the best place for a commercial city—the wisdom of the choice soon appeared, for the new city in a very few years became one of the most prosperous commercial marts in the world.

16. The fame of the temple of Ju'piter Ammon, situated in an oasis of the great desert, induced Alexander to pay this celebrated oracle a visit. He passed without loss through that celebrated desert, where the army of Cambyses had miserably perished, and arrived safe at this wonderful spot.* 17. The Macedo'nians were astonished at beholding the fertility of the Ammo'nian oasis, which seemed like a green island in the sandy ocean, and this admiration led them more readily to believe the strange stories related of its wonders by the Egyptian priests. Having visited the shrine and oracle, Alexander returned across the desert to Memphis, and having provided for the future government of Egypt, brought his army back to Syria.

18. Early in the ensuing spring Alexander prepared to lead his army against Dari'us, but was delayed some { B.C. 331. time by the necessity of quelling some disturbances in Greece, and providing for the security of the conquered provinces. 19. It was the beginning of July when he crossed the Euphra'tes into Mesopota'mia, and he remained in that province until the latter end of September, when he passed over the Tigris into Assyria. Here he received news of the vicinity of Dari'us, with an army composed of all the nations of the East. 20. Dari'us having left all his baggage at Arbe'la, led his army over the river Ly'cus, in order that they might fight the more desperately, when they knew that their retreat was cut off. His forces are said to have exceeded a million, and he had besides elephants and chariots armed with scythes, which, being strange to the Greeks, were likely to fill them with terror. But this army was after all an inert mass, without spirit or energy ; ready to fight indeed for their sovereign, but as ready to fly when he fell or retreated.

* See Hist. Miscel. Part I. Chap. IV.

21. Alexander halted four days to refresh his army, and on the fifth advanced against the enemy—but having miscalculated the distance, he came in sight of the enemy at too late an hour, and both armies spent the night on the field of battle. 22. The Macedo'nians not being formed in line, were permitted to sleep, but Dari'us fearing that if his ranks were disturbed, it would be impossible to reorganize such a mighty host, compelled his men to stand to their arms all night.

23. Alexander having with a few friends taken a survey of the Persian position, returned tranquilly to his tent. During the night Parme'nio wished him to take advantage of the darkness, and attack the Persians immediately ; but Alexander declared that it was inconsistent with his honour to steal a victory. So sure indeed was he of success, that he slept to a later hour in the morning than he had been accustomed, and the army was already drawn out, when he was roused by his attendants.

24. The battle of Arbela was won by the knowledge of that secret which Cyrus the younger had betrayed to the Greeks. To destroy the king and lower the royal standard was certain victory, for the Asiatics, both in ancient and modern times, immediately disperse when these events happen. Alexander consequently resolved to direct all his efforts against the left centre, where Dari'us himself was posted ; but in making such an attack he manifestly exposed himself to be outflanked and taken in the rear by the extended wings of the enemy, and he, therefore, posted some light troops, both horse and foot, on his flanks. 25. The battle commenced by the charge of the Scythian cavalry, and the war-chariots on the Macedo'nian right wing ; after a brief but fierce struggle they were driven back, and Dari'us immediately ordered his lines to advance. 26. The eagle eye of Alexander saw that an opportunity of executing his design was thus afforded. He rapidly wheeled his line into close column, and breaking in between the left wing of the enemy and their centre, attacked the latter in flank. 27. This unexpected movement threw the Persians into complete disarray, the cavalry endeavouring to wheel about got entangled in the infantry, and the whole centre was soon a shapeless mass of confusion. Dari'us, after a weak effort to rally his men, fled with precipitation, but he would scarcely have escaped had not the danger to which the rest of his forces were exposed, called Alexander to a different part of the

field. 28. The left wing under Parme'nio was severely handled by the Persian right, and was in danger of destruction, when Alexander galloped to its assistance with the Companion cavalry. But the news of the king's flight had by this time spread through the field, and Alexander found the Persians on his arrival in full retreat. The pursuit was therefore renewed, and Alexander persevered in it with so much ardour, that he arrived the next day at Arbe'la, forty miles from the field of battle.

29. The loss of both armies in this battle has been variously estimated; the account of Diodorus appears however to be the most probable; he says that the Persians lost ninety thousand, and the Macedo'nians about five hundred men.

Questions for Examination.

1. What were the causes of the greatness of Tyre ?
2. How was the city situated ?
3. Was Alexander well prepared for this siege ?
4. What was the first labour of the Macedonians ?
5. How was their labour frustrated ?
6. What necessary reinforcement did Alexander soon after receive ?
7. Were the Tyrians daunted by the Macedonian exertions ?
8. Why were the Macedonians peculiarly eager to destroy the Tyrians ?
9. How was the city taken ?
10. Was the defence desperate ?
11. What offers of peace did Darius make, and how were they received ?
12. Was any other city soon after taken by storm ?
13. What account is given of the interview between Alexander and the Jewish high priest ?
14. How was Egypt easily subdued ?
15. What city did Alexander found in that country ?
16. To what celebrated temple did Alexander proceed ?
17. For what was the Ammonian oasis remarkable ?
18. What delayed the opening of the next campaign ?
19. How long did Alexander remain in Mesopotamia ?
20. Where and how was the army of Darius posted ?
21. Did the two armies immediately engage ?
22. How did the two armies spend the night before the battle ?
23. How did Alexander show that he was sure of victory ?
24. On what arrangements did Alexander rely for success ?
25. How did the battle begin ?
26. Of what opportunity did Alexander avail himself ?
27. What was the result of this movement ?
28. How was the battle finally won ?
29. What were the losses of both armies ?

SECTION III.

DEATH OF DARIUS—OVERTHROW OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

1. THE unfortunate Dari'us fled with a small escort from the field of battle over the mountains ; he had no reason to dread a very vigorous pursuit in that direction, as neither he nor Alexander could have expected that the important cities of Su'sa and Bab'ylon would have been resigned without a struggle, and their riches and importance would naturally claim the first attention of the victor. 2. The satraps both of Babylo'nia and Susia'na however met Alexander on his march, and tendered their submission ; the enormous treasures which the monarchs of Persia had been for centuries accumulating at Su'sa were seized by the conqueror, and among other curiosities found there the statues of Harmo'dius and Aristogeiton, which Xerxes had brought from Athens. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians, and transmitted at the same time large sums of money, to purchase the tranquillity of the Grecian states. 3. The Babylo'nians gladly submitted to a change of masters : their city, once the greatest in the world, had fallen into gradual decay under the dominion of Persia, and they hoped that it would once again become the seat of empire under a new dynasty. 4. Having provided for the security of these provinces, Alexander next advanced into Persia Proper, through those mountains which have been in all ages the favourite haunt of robber-hordes. Even the kings of Persia were forced to pay tribute to these fierce mountaineers, when passing from Su'sa to Persepolis. But Alexander was too confident in his own resources to purchase the forbearance of these plunderers ; he refused to pay the customary tribute ; and when the mountaineers attempted to impede his march, he attacked them unawares, and routed them with great slaughter. 5. The Persians, under the command of Ariobarza'nes, made one vigorous effort to defend their native land. They posted themselves in a mountainous defile, through which the entrance to Persia lay, and repulsed the army of Alexander when an attempt was made to force a passage. 6. But a circumstance similar to that which enabled the Persians to force Thermop'ylæ now gave the victory to the Greeks ; some deserters showed

Alexander a secret path over the mountains, and he was thus enabled to attack the enemy in the rear. Assailed at once on both sides, surprised and confounded, the army of Ariobarza'nes made a very weak resistance, and the Macedonian army having once passed the defiles, found no other enemies to impede their course. 7. Persep'olis was taken without a blow, and given up to be plundered; it was afterwards burnt to the ground, in revenge for the cruelties practised by the Persians in Greece; or as most authors say, at the instigation of 'Tha'is, an Athenian courtesan, who accompanied Alexander. 8. The winter was spent in completing the conquest of Persia, and reducing to obedience the Tartar tribes that border on that country.

9. The Macedo'nians were again called into ac- { B.C.
 tive service, by the news of a large army of Scyth'i- { 330.
 ans and other barbarous tribes having joined Dari'us. This, however, was false; that monarch now completely despaired of success, and only sought for a retreat in some distant province with the relics of his treasure. 10. Alexander immediately commenced a vigorous pursuit, but Dari'us had escaped through the passes of the mountains that skirt the Caspian sea, before he could be overtaken. After a short delay to refresh his forces, the Macedo'nian monarch renewed the chase with redoubled vigour, having received intelligence that changed his hostility into pity of his former rival. 11. The satraps, under the guidance of Bes'sus, the governor of Bactria, had deposed their unfortunate sovereign, and were hurrying him off a close prisoner to some distant retreat. Alexander, eager to rescue the unhappy prince from these traitors, redoubled his diligence, and after a fatiguing chase overtook the army of Bes'sus. 12. The satraps, though their army was far superior in number, did not make any attempt to resist the Macedo'nians; their only aim was to secure their safety by flight, and finding that their speed was retarded by their royal prisoner, they wounded him mortally and left him to expire by the roadside. Dari'us was in the last agony of death when a Macedo'nian soldier came up, and brought him a little water to cool his raging thirst; he expressed great anxiety to see his generous conqueror, and thank him in person for the kindness that had been shown to his mother and family, but before Alexander came up, he expired. 13. Thus fell the sovereign of Asia, after having in the space of three years fallen from the summit of greatness to the condition of a

wretched fugitive, and finally to that of a miserable captive among cruel traitors. To the charity of a private soldier he was indebted for a cup of water in his last moments, a melancholy example of human vicissitudes. His generous rival honoured his remains with a magnificent funeral, treated his family with all the respect due to their illustrious birth, and finally married one of his daughters. 14. Most of the traitors were afterwards taken and given up by Alexander to the surviving relatives of Dari'us, who, after the custom of the East, put them to death by the most cruel tortures.

15. The remainder of this campaign was spent in subduing the northern provinces of Persia, and receiving the submission of the Greek mercenaries who had been in the pay of Dari'us, and appear to have been the only part of his forces on which any reliance could be placed. Those who had joined the Persians before the appointment of Alexander to the command of the confederate Greeks were allowed to return home, the others were permitted to purchase their pardon by joining the Macedo'nian forces, an offer which they readily embraced.

16. In the midst of this success Alexander had the mortification to discover a conspiracy, in which the son of Parmenio, hitherto the most able and faithful of his generals, was engaged; and Parmenio himself was more than suspected, if not of active participation, at least of guilty concealment. The particulars of the plot have not been explained by the ancient historians, but the conspirators were openly tried by the general council of the army, and sentenced to death by a unanimous vote.

B.C. } 17. Having escaped this danger, the attention of
329. } Alexander was next called to the situation of the provinces bordering on Scyth'ia, the modern Tartary. 18. The nomade races of people in these countries have been in all ages the principal agents in all the great revolutions that have taken place in Asia; from them are descended the Turks, the Tartar rulers of Persia, the Mogul conquerors of India, and the powerful tribes which subdued the ancient empire of China. The Greeks had long learned to dread these fierce barbarians, by whom Cy'rus the Great had been destroyed, and Dari'us Hystaspes forced to an inglorious retreat. 19. The Macedo'nians did not, therefore, evince much alacrity when summoned to invade Scyth'ia, and the diviners detained the army several days on the banks of the Jax'artes, under the pretence of unfavourable omens. Alex-

ander at length crossed the river, and inflicted on the Scythian army a defeat so severe and unexpected, that all the tribes sent deputies to proffer their submission.

20. In the mean time Epitame'nes, the satrap of Sogdia'na, had broken out into open rebellion, and defeated with great slaughter the detachment of Macedonians sent to reduce him to obedience. On the approach of Alexander the gallant satrap, having vainly endeavoured to infuse his own courage into the breasts of his followers, retreated towards the deserts. He was slain on the road by some of his own soldiers, who sent his head to Alexander, in order to purchase their own pardon.

21. Oxyar'tes the Bactrian still defied the Macedo'nian monarch, and shutting himself up in one of the mountain fortresses of Sogdia'na, obstinately refused submission. The strength of the place might indeed well have justified his confidence; the castle was situated on a rock so lofty, that it was surrounded by perpetual snows, and the garrison, proud of their position, when summoned to surrender, contemptuously asked, "if Alexander had supplied himself with winged soldiers?" Irritated by this taunt, the king offered large sums to those who would scale the cliff. 22. Stimulated both by the hope of reward and the desire of glory, a detachment succeeded in ascending some rocks that overlooked the fortress, by driving iron pins into the congealed snow, from which they suspended scaling-ladders. After the detachment had surmounted the dangers and difficulties of this hazardous enterprise, Alexander sent to the Sogdians a fresh summons, at the same time bidding them "to view his winged soldiers." 23. The astonished barbarians surrendered at discretion, and among the captives was found Roxa'na, the daughter of Oxyar'tes, whose charms captivated the victor so much that he made her the partner of his throne. 24. In this campaign Alexander subdued all the north-eastern provinces of the ancient Persian empire, extending from the Caspian sea to the chain of lofty mountains that bound India on the north. 25. It would be very unjust to ascribe these conquests to mere warlike ambition, or a desire of extended empire; the inhabitants of these countries had been long a great impediment to the progress of civilization in Asia; they issued from their mountain fastnesses to plunder the cultivators of the plain, and were in their turn the prey of the Scythian tribes. Alexander, by placing garrisons along the banks of the Ox'us and Jax'artes,

restrained the incursions of the barbarians, and by sending colonies into these remote provinces, laid the foundations of a system of social order, which would have produced the most beneficial effects, but for the premature death of the illustrious founder.

Questions for Examination.

1. Why had Darius no reason to dread immediate pursuit ?
 2. What treasures did Alexander acquire at Susa ?
 3. Why did the Babylonians submit patiently to a change of masters ?
 4. By what enemies was the march of Alexander into Persia impeded ?
 5. Did the Persians themselves make any resistance ?
 6. How was the position of Anobarzanes forced ?
 7. How was Persepolis treated ?
 8. Did Alexander spend the winter in idleness ?
 9. How was Darius employed ?
 10. Was Darius closely pursued by Alexander ?
 11. What evils did the royal fugitive suffer from his followers ?
 12. Did Alexander succeed in rescuing Darius ?
 13. How did Alexander honour his deceased rival ?
 14. What became of the traitors ?
 15. How was the rest of the campaign spent ?
 16. What dangerous conspiracy was formed against Alexander ?
 17. To what quarter was Alexander's attention next directed ?
 18. Why was the invasion of Scythia a dangerous enterprise ?
 19. What success had the Macedonians against the Scythians ?
 20. How was the revolt of Spitamenes suppressed ?
 21. What gave Oxyartes courage to defy Alexander ?
 22. How was the Logdian fortress taken ?
 23. Who was Roxana ?
 24. Were any other acquisitions made in this campaign ?
 25. What was the effect of Alexander's conquests ?
-

SECTION IV.

INVASION OF INDIA.

1. THE numerous victories obtained by Alexander, and the extensive empire he had acquired with such rapidity, naturally inspired him with a high sense of his personal dignity, and led him to claim honours such as the Greeks had been accustomed to bestow on the gods alone; ever since the conquest of Egypt, the flatterers of the king had pretended to believe that he was the son of Jupiter Ammon;

and this gross flattery, which sounds so strange to modern ears, was not unacceptable to Alexander, whose greatest weakness was the desire of being considered the rival of those fabulous heroes, Her'cules and Bac'chus. 2. The Greeks were very unwilling to imitate the degrading prostrations of the Asiatics in the presence of their sovereign, and they saw with regret their beloved monarch daily exhibiting a greater taste for the despotic customs of the ancient Persian court, than for the simpler manners of his native country. The adoption of the Persian dress, which appears to have been dictated by sound policy, was equally offensive to the haughty Greeks, who looked upon every nation but their own as barbarous; they thought that their leader had degraded himself to the condition of the vanquished, by assuming their costume; for the expediency of conciliating those who had been but lately subdued, seems never to have entered into their contemplation. 3. These circumstances caused frequent murmurings in the camp, which were not a little aggravated by the jealousy of several captains, who saw Alexander bestowing marks of favour on the Persian nobles, and who deemed that all honours and all rewards should be entirely confined to themselves. They began to draw comparisons between Philip and his son, to the disadvantage of the latter; they even depreciated their own victories, and asserted that their triumphs were due rather to the cowardice and weakness of their enemies, than to the courage or conduct of their commander. 4. There were also in the camp several philosophers whom Alexander patronized from his love of science; men who piqued themselves on their unbounded liberty of speech, and thought that their literary attainments placed them far above the kings of the earth. Among these was Callis'thenes, a disciple of Aristotle, but differing from his master in being a fierce democrat and a violent assertor of tyrannicidal doctrines. 5. Amidst these elements of strife, Alexander pursued his course, either not suspecting or defying danger, daily imitating more and more the luxury and ostentation of the Persian kings, but becoming daily more sensible of the deep feelings of anger which he thus excited. 6. The Persians were remarkable for their attachment to the pleasures of the table; they loved to drink deep, and one of their sovereigns* had his prowess in drinking-bouts inscribed with his other triumphs on his tomb. Unfortunately Alexander was se-

* Darius Hystaspes,

duced into the adoption of this pernicious habit, and under the influence of intoxication was led to the commission of an act which may justly be considered the great misfortune of his life.

7. Clei'tus, the brother of Larna'ce, by whom Alexander was nursed, had been long the favourite companion of the king; we have already seen him saving the monarch's life at the battle of the Gran'icus, nor were his services less conspicuous at Issus and Arbe'la. 8. Presuming on his services, he one night taunted the king, when heated with wine, on his inferiority to his father, and ascribed the victories over the Persians to the valour of himself and his brother soldiers. The evident displeasure of the king, and the remonstrances of the company, failed to check the licentious tongue of the rude soldier, until Alexander, stung to madness, seized a javelin, and laid the injudicious censurer dead at his feet. 9. Scarcely, however, had he perpetrated the crime when he was seized with remorse; his attendants with difficulty prevented him from laying violent hands on himself; he was hurried to his chamber, where he remained for three days perfectly inconsolable; and it was not without difficulty that his mind was again restored to its wonted composure.

10. Soon after this a conspiracy of the royal pages to murder their master was discovered. Callisthenes was said to have been a principal in the plot; indeed his doctrines plainly taught that such an action would have been laudable; he was, therefore, seized, and put to death in prison; the pages were publicly executed.

B.C. } 11. The invasion of western India was the last
327. } and greatest martial exploit of Alexander. He appears to have entered the country by what is now called the route of Candahar; the common track of the caravans from northern India to A'gra and Is'pahan. The difficulties which he had to encounter in passing the mountainous chains which fence in northern India, have, perhaps, been exaggerated by ancient writers, but from the description given of the country by modern travellers, it is evident that the dangers to which the army was exposed exceeded any that they had hitherto encountered. 12. Most of the satraps to the west of the Indus submitted to the invader at the first summons; the rock Aor'nos, said to have baffled the prowess of Bacchus and Hercules, however, defied his assaults. This place, which has not been yet identified by modern



Alexander killing Cleitus.

travellers, is described by the ancients as a rocky hill on the banks of the Indus, accessible only by one path cut out of the solid rock, possessing near its summit a perpetual spring of pure water, and as much arable ground as would employ the labour of a thousand men. Notwithstanding all these advantages, Alexander subdued it in the very same way that he had before conquered the Sogdian fortress, namely, by sending a detachment to scale the rock in the rear, while he engaged the attention of the enemy in front.

13. From thence Alexander advanced to the Indus, which he passed over by a bridge of boats, and having received the submission of the neighbouring satraps, he advanced towards the Hydaspes, one of the largest tributary branches of the Indus. It was now the season of the summer solstice, when the rivers of India are always swollen by the melting of the mountain snows, and by the tropical rains.

14. This encouraged Po'rus, an Indian prince beyond the Hydaspes, to set Alexander at defiance. He assembled a numerous army, and posted himself on the banks of the river, determined to prevent the Macedo'nians from forcing a passage. Alexander clearly saw that he could not hope to cross the river in the face of such a powerful force; he, therefore, ostentatiously collected provisions, and declared that it was his intention to defer his advance until the season became more favourable. 15. Finding that the Indians still maintained their post, the invaders were obliged to adopt a

new plan; detachments of cavalry and light troops were sent every night to different places on the banks of the river, with orders to sound their trumpets and raise their war-cry, as if they were at that moment about to force their way over the river. Po'rus at first led out his army at every fresh alarm, but finding that they all terminated in nothing, and that his soldiers were harassed by want of repose, soon neglected the watching of the fords altogether. This was what Alexander expected, and finding that the enemy had become negligent, he prepared in silence to pass over at the moment when he was least expected. About ten miles above the position of the two armies there was a bend in the river, and midway between the banks was a large island densely covered with wood. Hither Alexander moved with about half his forces, leaving the remainder under the command of Crate'us, with orders to display themselves to the Indian army, so as to engage their attention. 16. The passage of the river was finally effected on a dark night during a dreadful thunder-storm, which completely drowned the noise of the embarkation, and before the morning dawned, the Macedo'nians had not only secured their position in the island, but were far advanced in their preparations for passing the other branch of the stream. 17. The Indian outposts instantly sent off the news to Po'rus, but he being deceived by the evolutions of Crate'us, believed that this was only a feint to divert his attention; however, he sent his son with a strong body of horse, to drive back the invaders, but the landing was made good ere they could reach the scene of action. Alexander, at the head of a troop of the Companies, charged the Indian cavalry, they were easily routed, and the son of Po'rus slain.

18. The Indian king, driven to fight for his crown and life in a fair field, prepared for the decisive battle with equal skill and intrepidity. He distributed his cavalry and war-chariots in both wings, drew up his elephants, on which perhaps he placed too much reliance, in the front of his line, and formed his infantry behind in a solid mass that appeared impenetrable. 19. Alexander, collecting the greater part of his cavalry into the left wing, prepared to turn the right flank of the Indian line, and directed Cæ'nus, with the rest of the horse, to make a similar attack on the other extremity. The latter was the first that succeeded; for Po'rus had withdrawn the better divisions of his cavalry from that wing, in order to overwhelm Alexander. Cæ'nus not only broke

through the squadrons opposed to him, but chased them in their retreat round to the other wing, which he attacked in the rear at the moment that Alexander charged in front. 20. The Indian cavalry made but a faint resistance, and fled for protection behind the elephants. The Macedo'nian infantry now advanced, and the Indian king ordered his elephants to charge. These unwieldy animals at first threw the Macedo'nian lines into confusion, but being attacked by the light troops, who aimed at their guides, they were driven back. The army of Po'rus was now a confused mass, the cavalry were mixed up with infantry, and the elephants crowded on each other, and irritated either by wounds or the loss of their guides, increased the disarray. 21. Crate'us had now crossed the river with fresh forces, and joined Alexander at the moment that the Indians were beginning to fly; the rout soon became general, and the squadrons of Macedonian cavalry falling on the broken bands, committed fearful havoc. 22. Po'rus still maintained the battle personally, with the utmost intrepidity. Conspicuous by his great size, which exceeded the ordinary stature of men, and by his glittering armour, he directed his elephant against the hostile battalions. Alexander, anxious to save the life of a brave enemy, sent one of his former captives to summon him to surrender, and Po'rus, having been wounded, and finding himself now exhausted by fatigue and loss of blood, consented. 23. When brought into the presence of Alexander, the Indian king still maintained the dignity and courage for which he had been always distinguished; when asked by the conqueror "how he wished to be treated?" he replied, "Like a king." Being asked had he any other request to make, he answered, "No; every thing is contained in that word." Alexander, delighted at finding in an enemy sentiments so congenial to his own, distinguished Po'rus with unusual favours, not only restoring him to his kingdom, but greatly adding to its extent; the Indian in return attached himself for the future to Alexander, more as a friend than as a subject.

24. Alexander next subdued the tribes of the Cathai'ans, and advanced to the banks of the Hy'phasis, the only great stream now between him and the plains of India. But at this moment, when the monarch already grasped in imagination this new empire, his soldiers broke out into open insurrection, and refused to follow him further. After many vain efforts to overcome their reluctance, Alexander was obliged

to return back to the Hy'daspes, where part of his army was already employed in building a fleet to sail down the river into the unknown ocean. 25. The warlike nations of the Mal'li and Oxydra'cæ inhabited the banks of the river down which the fleet was sailing; they possessed strong fortified towns and numerous garrisons, but nothing could resist the reckless daring of Alexander; indeed his exploits in the course of the closing part of this campaign almost pass the bounds of credibility, and seem to have been dictated by rashness rather than courage. 26. One of these deserves to be narrated. At the storming of the citadel of an Indian town, Alexander was the first to ascend the scaling-ladder, but he had scarcely reached the summit of the wall, when the weight of his followers broke the ladder, and he was left alone in the midst of his enemies. Under these circumstances Alexander, conceiving that the boldest conduct was the safest, leaped from the rampart into the fortress, and placing his back against the wall, defied the entire host. The foremost of his assailants were cut down, and the barbarians gave back from the reach of his arm, but showered their missiles on him from a distance. An arrow at length penetrated his cuirass and sunk deep in the bone, but at this moment he was joined by three faithful followers, who threw themselves between the king and the weapons of his enemies. One of them soon fell, the other two were severely wounded, and Alexander himself was fainting from loss of blood, when his soldiers, having repaired their ladders, succeeded in scaling the wall. The sight of their beloved sovereign bleeding, as they supposed, to death, roused them to vengeance. They refused all quarter to the garrison, and spared not even the women and children. 27. Alexander did not easily recover from this wound, but he was consoled in his sufferings by the sympathy of his army; every soldier evinced the most lively interest in his recovery, and his restoration to health was voluntarily celebrated as a festival. The progress of the army down the Indus was marked by several victories over the adjacent Indian nations; but at length their toils were rewarded by the sight of the ocean, which they had so long ardently desired.

Questions for Examination.

1. What species of reverence did Alexander claim with which his soldiers were displeased ?
2. Why were the Greeks indignant at the conduct of their monarch ?
3. What was the consequence of these feelings of disunion ?
4. Were there any persons in the camp who increased these feelings ?
5. How did Alexander conduct himself under these circumstances ?
6. What bad Persian custom did Alexander imitate ?
7. Had Cleitus any peculiar claims on Alexander ?
8. How did he provoke the king to slay him ?
9. Did Alexander deeply regret his violent passion ?
10. Was there any conspiracy detected and punished about this time ?
11. By what route did Alexander invade India ?
12. Why is the capture of Aornos remarkable ?
13. How was the passage of the Hy'daspes made difficult to Alexander ?
14. By whom was the river defended ?
15. How did Alexander throw the Indians off their guard ?
16. By what natural event was the passage of the river facilitated ?
17. How did Porus act when he heard of this passage ?
18. In what manner did Porus form his line of battle ?
19. With what movements did Alexander commence the fight ?
20. How were the Indian lines thrown into confusion ?
21. In what manner was the victory completed ?
22. How did Porus behave ?
23. In what manner was Porus treated by Alexander ?
24. What prevented Alexander from penetrating into India ?
25. Did Alexander meet any enemies in his passage down the Indus ?
26. Was not Alexander exposed to great danger in the storming of an Indian town ?
27. Did any other remarkable circumstances occur in the voyage down the Indus ?

SECTION V.

RETURN FROM INDIA.—DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

1. ALEXANDER had, from the very beginning of his career, designed a plan of commercial intercourse between Greece and southern Asia. The route which he had determined on was that which was subsequently established between India and Egypt. He planned several naval stations on the branches of the Indus, and sent out a fleet under Near'chus, to examine the coast between the mouth of the Indus and

the Persian gulf. 2. At the same time he resolved to return to Persia along the sea-coast, both for the purpose of keeping up a connexion with his fleet, and subduing the intervening nations. 3. Between India and Carma'nia lay the deserts of Gedro'sia, which the army traversed with great difficulty. Their sufferings from thirst, the heat of the sun, and the burning sand, exceeded any thing that they had hitherto experienced, but the sight of their sovereign sharing in their toils, and submitting to equal privations without a murmur, cheered them to fresh exertions. At length they reached the shores of the Persian gulf, and were soon after rejoined by the fleet under Near'chus. 4. The march of the army through Carma'nia resembled a triumphant procession; the soldiers, once more in a fertile and friendly country, believed that all their toils were over, and gladly gave themselves up to enjoyment.

5. On his return to Persia, Alexander heard, with great regret, that the tomb of Cy'rus had been broken open during his absence, and the remains of that great sovereign shamefully insulted. The Macedonian king always felt a deep veneration for the memory of the founder of the Persian monarchy, whose character and career was very similar to his own; he, therefore, ordered the tomb to be repaired, and severely punished those to whose charge it had been intrusted.

6. The prudent measures already taken to conciliate the Persian nobility had produced a very powerful effect; in fact, Alexander was as much beloved by the Asiatic lords as if he had been one of their native princes. To increase and strengthen this attachment, Alexander married Statei'ra, the daughter of the late king, and gave several of his generals wives from the noble families of Persia. These nuptials were celebrated with unusual splendour, the refinements of European taste were added to Asiatic magnificence, and the whole was concluded with a munificent distribution of rewards to all who had distinguished themselves in the war. 7. On this occasion Alexander paid off all the debts that his soldiers had contracted. These splendid gifts did not diminish the dislike with which the army viewed the adoption of eastern customs; and the Macedonians were still more indignant when they saw a band of thirty thousand young men, who had been raised in the upper provinces, and carefully instructed in Grecian discipline, enrolled in the regular army. These new soldiers were called Epig'-

oni, a name derived from the heroes who subdued Thebes in the fabulous ages of Grecian history. 8. The discontent of the Macedonians broke out in a dangerous mutiny, which was suppressed with great difficulty. But Alexander was not to be made a slave by his own soldiers; he acted with equal firmness and moderation, punishing only the ring-leaders, and granting the rest not merely pardon, but favour. Soon after, he sent home the veterans whom age or wounds incapacitated for further service; they were loaded with favours, and intrusted to the guidance of Crat'erus, one of their most popular generals.

9. Soon after this, Alexander lost his beloved friend Hephæstion, the cherished companion of all his toils; his grief on the occasion is described as most extravagant; he, perhaps involuntarily, imitated the conduct of Achilles on the death of Patroclus, and for some time it was doubtful whether he could survive such excessive sorrow.

10. Having arranged the different satrapies in Media and Persia, he resolved to visit Babylon, which he had long designed to make the capital of his extensive dominions. On his road thither, he received ambassadors from every part of the then known world; it is recorded by credible historians that even the Romans sent a deputation to congratulate him on his success, and solicit his friendship. He little thought when he received these deputies from an almost unknown city, that there stood before him the representatives of a people destined, at no very distant period, to inherit his empire, and destroy his paternal kingdom.

11. As Alexander approached Bab'ylon, he was { B.C.
met by deputies from the Chaldean soothsayers, { 323.
warning him not to approach the city in the name of their god Be'lus. They were probably afraid of an examination into the manner in which they had dissipated the revenues assigned for the support of the temples, and hoped to terrify the king by their prophecies of evil. 12. Other unfavourable omens and prodigies were also mentioned, but Alexander, nothing daunted, continued his march, and even entered the city by the gate which had been particularly described as fatal.

13. The schemes and plans with which Alexander's mind was occupied, during the last year of his life, were worthy of his great genius; he opened the navigation of the Euphra'tes, established a fleet on the Caspian sea, founded several towns, and marked out the site of commer-

cial depôts which would connect the trade of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Indus; he also made preparations for the invasion of Arabia, as he deemed the possession of that peninsula essential to the accomplishment of his mighty projects. 14. Before setting out on any new expedition, it had been always the custom of Alexander to invite his officers to a banquet; that which was given on the completion of the preparations for invading Arabia was peculiarly splendid; the king drank deeply, and was about to retire, when Medius, the Thessalian, invited him to come to a second banquet at his quarters. 15. This additional debauch brought on a fever, which the king's anxiety about the impending expedition greatly increased. On the ninth day he was speechless, and it became evident that his dissolution was approaching; his favourite troops were admitted to his presence, and though unable to speak, he saluted them with his hand; soon after he gave his ring to Perdica's, and expired.

16. The character of Alexander is so completely unexampled, his career so unlike every thing that has been recorded of all other conquerors, that we must not be surprised to find him by some writers described as a scourge of the human race, and by others represented as a great benefactor of mankind. 17. That his establishment of a permanent empire in the East would have greatly advanced the great cause of civilization and social happiness is perfectly undeniable. When we consider how much he effected before he had attained even his thirty-fourth year, it is not easy to assign the limits of what he might have done, if his life had been protracted to old age. 18. To change the barbarous habits of the Asiatic nations, and substitute for their savage customs the refinements of Greek civilization, was an enterprise of greater difficulty and of greater glory than the conquest of Dari'us, or the subjugation of Persia; but it might probably have been effected by the royal pupil of Aristotle, combining, as he did, the enthusiasm of the hero, and the wisdom of the philosopher. 16. Other invaders have passed over the plains of Asia, both in ancient and modern times, but their career has been like the poison wind of the desert, traceable only by the ruin and desolation that marked their progress. The march of Alexander was not wholly unattended with evil, for every invading army must cause calamity, but the monuments of his glorious career were seventy cities founded under his auspices, com-



Alexander refusing to drink the water.

mercial marts established on all the principal rivers, and improved systems of agriculture and social life taught to wandering tribes. 20. The army of the southern Greeks, who had not shared in the glories of the conquest of Asia, the jealousy of the Romans, who could not bear to remember that the banners of Macedon were displayed in regions unvisited by the Roman eagle, and the republican prejudices of most ancient historians, have led to a great depreciation of Alexander's merits, and a great exaggeration of his faults. It would be idle to assert that he was a perfect character, but "take him for all in all," and it will be difficult to point out in history a better general, a wiser sovereign, a more merciful victor, and a more sincere friend. Alexander understood the means of rendering himself popular with the soldiers not less thoroughly than Napoleon. When the army were on a forced march through a dry region, some soldiers at a great risk procured a little water, and brought it in a helmet for the king to drink. Seeing the soldiers gaze upon it with eagerness, he took the helmet and poured it on the ground, saying that their seeing him drink it would only increase their thirst.

Questions for Examination.

1. What commercial projects did Alexander form ?
2. By what route did the army return to Persia ?
3. Did they endure many sufferings during their march ?
4. Was the march through Carmania equally painful ?
5. How did Alexander show his respect for the memory of Cyrus ?

6. In what manner did Alexander endeavour to conciliate the Persians ?
7. Why were the Macedonians indignant ?
8. How was their mutiny suppressed ?
9. By whose death was Alexander greatly affected ?
10. What remarkable embassies met him on the road to Babylon ?
11. By whom was Alexander warned not to enter Babylon ?
12. Was he deterred by these unfavourable omens ?
13. To what enterprise was the attention of Alexander next directed ?
14. In what drunken debauch did Alexander engage ?
15. What were the circumstances of his death ?
16. What opposite accounts are given of Alexander's character ?
17. Why may we suppose that he could have executed his projects ?
18. What designs of his would have been most difficult to execute ?
19. How did he differ from other conquerors of Asia ?
20. Why has the character of Alexander been misrepresented ?

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

1. WHILST Alex'ander was employed in the subjugation of Asia, the preservation of tranquillity in Greece was intrusted to Antip'ater, who united in a remarkable degree the character of an able statesman and a good general. The Lacedæmonians, though stripped of power, had not lost their pride, and they resolved to overthrow the supremacy of Macedon, while its sovereign was waging a doubtful war in a foreign land. The Spartan king, A'gis, inherited the abilities and obstinacy of his grandfather Agesila'us : 330. } he induced several of the Peloponnesian states to join in the confederacy he had formed against Macedon, and was soon able to take the field at the head of twenty thousand men. 2. This unexpected news reached Antip'ater whilst he was subduing an insurrection in Thrace ; alarmed at the imminent danger, he traversed Greece with wonderful celerity, and arrived in the Peloponnesus with an army more numerous and better disciplined than that of his enemies. 3. The engagement that ensued was fatal to the confederates ; A'gis, refusing to fly, was slain, and three thousand of his soldiers shared his fate. Deputies were sent to solicit pardon and peace from Alexander, and he, with equal prudence and generosity, granted both on the most liberal con-

ditions. 4. During the remainder of his reign Greece enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the cities continued to be ruled by their own laws, and the Macedonian government did not even interfere to protect its partisans when attacked by a hostile faction. The famous contest between the rival orators Demos'thenes and Æs'chines, which terminated in the defeat and banishment of the latter, is a convincing proof of the great liberty which the states were permitted to enjoy. 5. We have already seen that Demos'thenes had long shown himself the inveterate enemy of the Macedonian supremacy, and that his rival Æs'chines had been distinguished as the eloquent advocate of Philip; both were supported by strong parties, but that of Demos'thenes was the most active and numerous. 6. Ctes'iphon, an Athenian of some eminence, proposed a decree which was sanctioned by an assembly of the people, that the state should present Demos'thenes with a golden crown as a testimony of their approbation: Æs'chines denounced the proposer as a violator of the laws. From various causes, the trial was postponed to the sixth year of Alexander's reign; crowds came from all parts of Greece to witness the intellectual conflict, and the late victories of the Macedonians seemed to give the accuser a decisive advantage.

7. The charges made by Æs'chines against Ctes- { B.C.
iphon were three; (1) That he had proposed to confer { 330.
public honours on a man holding an official situation, whose
accounts were yet unexamined. (2) That he had caused
these honours to be illegally proclaimed in the theatre.
(3) That Demos'thenes, far from meriting a crown, had been
the principal cause of his country's ruin and disgrace. The
last was evidently the most important head of accusation,
since it brought into question the entire policy of the Athe-
nians, with respect to the Macedonians. 8. The speech of
Æs'chines was a master-piece of eloquence and argument,
but the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes bore down
all opposition; he vindicated the course he had recommend-
ed to the Athenians, as being that which honour had dictated,
though fortune had not favoured; and appealed to the shades
of those who fell at Marathon and Plataea, to justify the con-
flict in the same glorious cause on the fatal field of Chæro-
nei'a. 9. The event was the acquittal of Ctesiphon, and the
banishment of Æs'chines as a false accuser. 10. The
subsequent conduct of the illustrious rivals is more honour-
able to their characters than even the triumphs of their

eloquence. Demos'thenes presented a large sum of money to his adversary, and forced him to accept it, as a means of support in exile. Æs'chines opened a school of eloquence at Rhodes, and having read the two crown orations at his first lecture, when he found that the warmest applause was given to the speech of Demos'thenes, without testifying any envy, he exclaimed, "What would have been your admiration had you heard the mighty orator himself!"

B.C. } 11. The death of Alexander dissolved the fabric
323. } of the mighty empire which he had erected; the
generals would not obey Perdic'cas, but sought each independent establishment by the sword, nor was there any cessation of crimes and calamities until the battle of Is'sus
B.C. } secured the establishment of the Egyptian, Syrian,
301. } Thracian, and Macedonian kingdoms. But the history of these revolutions is very remotely connected with that of Greece, to which we must return.*

12. A little before his death, Alexander had promised the restoration of all the Grecian exiles, and intrusted its fulfilment to Antip'ater. This measure excited universal suspicion, and was particularly odious to the Athenians, who had taken possession of Sa'mos, and feared the return of the original inhabitants. By the persuasion of Demosthenes,
B.C. } they took up arms to overthrow the supremacy of
322. } Macedon, and were joined by the Argives, Æto'-lians, and Thessa'lians. 13. Leos'thenes took the command of the confederates, and soon compelled Antip'ater to take refuge in La'miæ, which he closely besieged. As most of the military events occurred in the vicinity of that town, it is usually called the Lamian war. 14. Leos'thenes was unfortunately killed in the beginning of the siege, and the command devolved on Antiphilus, a general of very inferior abilities. Leonna'tus at the head of a Macedonian army compelled the Athenians to raise the siege; the confederates, however, again defeated Antipater, but took no measures to improve their victory, and soon after the arrival of large reinforcements under Crat'erus gave Antipater a decided superiority. 15. The confederates were forced to solicit a peace, which they obtained with difficulty. The Athenian democracy was overthrown, the fortress of Munych'ia received a Macedonian garrison, and sentence of death was pronounced on Demosthenes. 16. The illustrious orator

* The reader will find an account of the successes of Alexander in the Historical Miscellany, Part II.

fled to Calau'ria, a small island on the Argive coast, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, but being pursued thither by the emissaries of Antipater, he took poison, and escaped by suicide from falling into the hands of his enemies.

17. Antipater, when dying, bequeathed the regency of Macedon to Polysper'chon the oldest of Alexander's surviving generals. This arrangement was particularly displeasing to Cassan'der, the son of Antipater, and he immediately commenced a series of intrigues to obtain his father's power. In this he was assisted by Nica'nor, who commanded the Macedonian garrison in Munych'ia, and by the leaders of the aristocratic party at Athens, to whom the whole power of the state had been transferred by Antipater. 18. Polysper'chon, in order to counteract the efforts of Cassander, declared himself the patron of democracy and freedom; the old contest between the nobles and the people was thus revived in all the states with greater violence than ever. 19. The presence of Nica'nor's forces, who garrisoned both the Peiræ'eus and Munych'ia, enabled Pho'cion to maintain the oligarchy which Antipater had established; but the arrival of a numerous army under the command of Polysper'chon's son, soon made the popular party superior. A tumultuous assembly was convoked; the democracy was restored by acclamation, and sentence of death denounced against Pho'cion and all who had participated in the late government. 20. The persons who were thus summarily convicted of treason fled for protection to Polysper'chon, but he, anxious to conciliate the Athenians, shamefully surrendered the fugitives to the vindictive populace. The trial of these unfortunate persons was a mockery of justice; they were not allowed to speak in their own defence, and those who attempted to plead their cause were hooted from the tribunal. Pho'cion submitted to his fate with resignation, and showed no resentment for his unmerited condemnation, or the insults heaped on him by a furious rabble. His last message to his son was a command not to revenge the injuries that the Athenians had done him. With their usual fickleness, the people soon repented of their cruelty; they erected a brazen statue of Pho'cion, and punished his accusers with death, hoping, as usual, to atone for their own crime by punishing those by whom they had been stimulated to its commission.

21. From Attica, Polysper'chon proceeded to the Pelo-

ponnesus, where by siding with the popular party he made himself master of most of the cities. Megalop'olis, the capital of Arcadia, however, rejected all his offers of alliance, and resisted all his efforts to subdue it.

22. The defeat of Polysper'chon at Megalop'olis restored the sinking fortunes of Cassan'der; and the crimes of Olym'pias, the mother of Alexander, whom the regent had unwisely recalled to Macedon, enabled him to complete his triumph. 23. The nominal authority of the state had been confided to Anhidæ'us, the brother of the late king, but as he was almost an idiot, all the power was really possessed by his wife, Eurydi'ce, who was passionately attached to Cassan'der. Olym'pias, with the forces of the regency, advanced against the imbecile Anhidæ'us, and made him and his wife prisoners. The unfortunate captives were put to death with shocking cruelty, and more than a hundred Macedonians, suspected of attachment to Cassander, shared the same fate. 24. But this cruelty proved the ruin of her cause; the Macedonians, shocked at her barbarity, deserted, and Cassander, advancing to avenge his murdered friend, scarcely met any opposition. Olym'pias shut herself up B.C. } in Pyd'na, but the city was besieged and taken; she 315. } surrendered on the promise of receiving a fair trial, but Cassan'der, dreading her influence over the Macedonians, caused her to be assassinated in prison.

25. To secure himself on the throne, Cassander married Thessaloni'ca, the sister of Alexander the Great, and put to death all the descendants of the conqueror. The generals in the east had previously assumed the authority, though not as yet the title, of kings, and thus in a few years after the death of Alexander, not only his extensive empire, but even his hereditary dominions, were lost to his posterity for ever.

26. Cassander rebuilt Thebes, and recalled the descendants of the former inhabitants; he also gave to the remnant of the unfortunate Olynthians habitations in Cassandreia, a new city which he erected on the ruins of Potidæa. He restored the power of the aristocracy at Athens, and intrusted the government of the city to Deme'trius of Phale'rum, a man celebrated for his philosophical attainments, and love of justice. A brief season of tranquillity followed, which was first interrupted by Cassander's joining the confederacy which had been formed against Antigonus.*

* See Historical Miscellany, part II. chap. VII.

27. Demetrius Poliorce'tes, the son of Antigonus, was sent to Greece to rouse up the states against Cassander, and professing himself the advocate of democracy, was soon at the head of a considerable party. The first enterprise { B.C. of Poliorce'tes was the siege of the Peiræ'eus, the { 307. capture of which made him master of Athens. He restored the popular form of government, but saved the friends of oligarchy from the vengeance of the mob; Deme'trius Phale'reus, though his equitable administration ought to have afforded him protection, was warned by the fate of Phocion on a similar occasion, not to place any reliance on the gratitude of the Athenian populace; he, therefore, retired to Thebes, and subsequently to Egypt. 28. The inconstancy of that fickle people was soon after experienced by Poliorce'tes; on the first reverse of fortune, the Athenians excluded him from their city. After a short siege Demetrius again became master of Athens, and instead of punishing the inhabitants for their ingratitude, loaded them with benefits. 29. The death of Cassander, and the civil war { B.C. between his sons, afforded a new field of action to { 296. Demetrius. Antip'ater, the elder of the brothers, commenced his reign by the murder of his mother, because he suspected her of favouring the pretensions of her younger son Alexander. A civil war ensued; by the aid of Pyrr'hus, king of Epirus, Alexander succeeded in driving Antipater into exile, where he was soon after murdered. Demetrius came to the assistance of Alexander, but the war was terminated before his arrival, and the young king, dreading the abilities of his ally, plotted against his life, but was met with equal cunning. At length Alexander was slain, and Demetrius obtained the kingdom of Macedon.

30. In the sixth year of his reign Deme'trius was { B.C. expelled from his kingdom by Pyrr'hus; he fled { 287. into Asia, and being made a prisoner by his father-in-law Seleu'cus, died in captivity. A series of sudden revolutions followed; Pyrr'hus was driven out by Lysim'achus king of Thrace; he in his turn was defeated and slain by Seleu'cus, and Seleu'cus was assassinated by Ptol'emy Cerau'nus, who soon after made himself master of Macedon.

31. Cerau'nus did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes; a horde of Gauls who had been settled in Panno'nia, finding their territories too small to support their increasing numbers, directed their course southwards, and soon appeared on the frontiers of Macedonia. Cerau'nus led an army to repel

B.C. } this invasion, but was defeated and slain. The entire
 278. } country was laid waste by the barbarians, and when the resources of Macedon were exhausted, they prepared to extend their ravages to Greece. The Greeks, like their ancestors in the Persian war, met and defeated the invaders at Thermop'ylæ, and like them lost the fruits of their victory, by allowing the enemy to come round on their rear through the unguarded mountain-passes. The defenders of Thermop'ylæ escaped on board the Athenian fleet, and the Gauls, having now no impediment in their way, advanced to plunder the temple of Delphi. The preservation of the shrine from the spoilers is said to have been similar to its former deliverance from the Persians. (chap. V.) The Pho''cians, from their knowledge of the mountains, were enabled to harass the invaders by simultaneous attacks on their front, flank, and rear; an accidental storm terrified them with the dread of divine vengeance; and finally, a sudden panic spreading in their camp by night, they turned their weapons against each other, and were so weakened by mutual slaughter, that they could no longer make any head against the enemy, by whom they were slaughtered without mercy. From Europe the shattered remains of the Gauls passed over into Asia Minor, where they finally made themselves masters of the province which after them was named Gala'tia.

33. The kingdom of Macedon was distracted by the pretensions of different claimants to its crown, but at length the contest terminated in favour of Antig'onus, surnamed Gona'tas, from Goni in Thessaly, where he had been educated. He was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and inherited both the ambition and abilities of his father

Questions for Examination.

1. By whom was an attempt made to take advantage of Alexander's absence?
2. How did Antipater behave when he heard this intelligence?
3. What was the result of the war?
4. How were the Greek states treated during the reign of Alexander?
5. Did any remarkable oratorical contest occur at Athens?
6. What was the foundation of this contest?
7. What were the charges made by Æschines?
8. Which proved himself the better orator?
9. How did the trial terminate?
10. Did the rival orators exhibit any spite or jealousy?
11. What consequences followed the death of Alexander?

12. On what account did the Athenians go to war with Antipater ?
13. Why is this called the Lamian war ?
14. How did Antipater become superior in this war ?
15. On what conditions was peace granted ?
16. How did Demosthenes die ?
17. What disputes took place after the death of Antipater ?
18. How did Polysperchon strive to strengthen his power ?
19. What change took place in the Athenian government ?
20. How was Phocion treated by the prevailing party ?
21. Where was Polysperchon defeated ?
22. What events favourable to Cassander took place ?
23. Of what crimes was Olympias guilty ?
24. How was she treated by Cassander ?
25. How was Alexander's empire broken up ?
26. What beneficial arrangements were made by Cassander ?
27. Why did Demetrius Phalereus leave Athens ?
28. Did Poliorcetes show a revengeful disposition ?
29. How did Demetrius acquire the kingdom of Macedon ?
30. What revolutions followed ?
31. How did Ceraunus die ?
32. How did the invasion of the Gauls terminate ?
33. Who acquired the kingdom of Macedon ?

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE—FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE ROMANS IN THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

1. WHEN the victories of Alexander, and still more the judicious measures of Antipater, had established the supremacy of Macedon over all the Grecian states, the league which bound together the Achæan cities was broken, and each was separately governed by some petty prince appointed by the Macedonians. But when the civil wars between the successors of Alexander had broken up his mighty empire, the Achæans eagerly embraced the opportunity of recovering their independence. Patræ and some others having expelled their garrisons and governors, { B.C. combined for the purpose of mutual defence, and } 280. chose at an assembly of the states two generals to manage the affairs of the confederacy. 2. The happiness which this change produced, excited the emulation of those states which still groaned under the yoke of the Macedonian tyrants ; Sic'yon, the most ancient of the Grecian cities,

and powerful from its situation, riches, and extent, was libe-
 B.C. } rated from its oppressors in a bloodless revolution,
 251. } effected by the youthful Ara'tus, and was joyfully
 received into the Achæan league. 3. The citadel of
 Corinth, being the key of the Peloponnesus, was an object
 of great importance to any one who aimed at the dominion
 of Greece; it had been accordingly seized on by Antig'onus,
 and strongly garrisoned. Ara'tus, on being appointed general
 of the Achæans, resolved to recover this important
 fortress; by an unexpected attack during the night, he suc-
 ceeded with little loss, and thus restored freedom to Corinth,
 and secured the passage of the isthmus. 4. During the
 reign of Antig'onus and his son Deme'trius, there was an
 almost incessant war between the Achæ'ans and Macedo-
 nians, the former endeavouring to extend the league, the
 latter struggling to maintain their former supremacy; but
 under the guidance of Ara'tus the friends of liberty were
 every where successful; and only for the envious opposition
 of the Lacedæmonians, Greece would probably have attained
 her former eminence and happiness. 5. This people, proud
 in their decay, looked with jealousy on the eminence of the
 Achæans; they remembered the time, when the entire Pe-
 loponnesus was subject to Sparta, and mistaking memory
 for hope, deemed themselves robbed of their right, when
 others possessed the sway to which they fancied themselves
 entitled. 6. Civil commotions for some time prevented
 them from opposing the progress of Aratus. Cleon'ymus
 B.C. } was irritated at his exclusion from the throne; he
 272. } therefore applied for assistance to Pyrrhus, king of
 Epirus, who had just returned from his inglorious campaigns
 in Sicily and Italy.* 7. Pyrr'hus, with his usual rashness,
 hurried into the Peloponne'sus, but he was defeated in an
 attempt to carry Sparta by assault, and slain in a similar at-
 tack upon Argos.† 8. Scarcely had Sparta recovered from
 this danger, when an attempt made by king Agis to restore
 the long neglected laws of Lycur'gus plunged the state into
 fresh calamities. His indecision enabled the wealthy part
 of the community to combine for the protection of their
 B.C. } riches, and the gallant king was murdered by the
 241. } Eph'ori in prison. 9. His son-in-law and succes-

* See Roman History, chap. XIII. sect. II. and Historical Miscellany,
 part II. chap. XI.

† Pyrrhus was killed with a stone tumbled from a wall by a woman
 whose son he was attacking



Death of Pyrrhus.

sors, Cleom'enes, pursued the same career as Agis, but with infinitely greater vigour; he removed many of his opponents by assassination, and finally by the aid of the army completed a revolution, and restored the most important part of the institutions of Lycurgus. Sparta soon began to recover her former strength, and with it all her former ambition. The Achæ'an league was obviously the greatest impediment to the attainment of supremacy, and to dissolve the confederacy became the great object of Cleom'enes.

10. About this time Deme'trius, son of Antig'onus, { B.C.
dièd, leaving the kingdom to his infant son Philip. } 229.

The several princes in the Peloponnesus, who had hitherto maintained their power by the terror of the Macedonian name, could place little reliance on the assistance of a child, and therefore consented to unite in the Achæ'an league.

11. Every thing seemed to promise permanent tranquillity, when Cleom'enes having entered into alliance with the Æto'lians, denounced the confederacy, and by three successive victories reduced the Achæans almost to the brink of ruin. Ara'tus, seeing that the liberties of Greece were more endangered by the Spartans than the Macedonians, recommended his countrymen to enter into alliance with the latter, and a treaty being concluded with the regent Antig'onus, a Macedonian army under his command advanced to the Peloponne'sus, and broke through the isthmus in spite of all the resistance of Cleom'enes. 12. The war lasted about three years, and was terminated by the total defeat of the Spartans at Sella'sia, on the borders of Laco'nia.

B.C. } Cleom'enes fled to Egypt, and died in exile. Antig'-
222. } onus, having restored liberty to all the states, returned to Macedon.

B.C. } 13. The Ætolians were the first to disturb the
220. } tranquillity which Antig'onus had established. This people, which the other Greeks looked on as barbarous, had not acquired any political importance, until the power of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, had been crushed by the Macedonians, and Macedon itself wasted by civil wars. They then became formidable by their predatory expeditions into the defenceless states, and by the confidence which a belief in the security of their own mountainous country inspired. 14. Under the most absurd pretexts they renewed the war with the Achæans, being covertly assisted by the perfidious Spartans, and more openly by the inhabitants of Elis. Philip, king of Macedon, was placed at the head of the Achæan league, but the treachery of his own officers long impeded his exertions. At length, by following the counsels of Ara'tus, he was enabled to triumph over the Ætolians and their allies. 15. The news of the victories obtained by An'nibal* over the Romans inspired Philip with the hope of establishing his supremacy over Italy and Il'lyria; he B.C. } therefore granted peace to the Ætolians on favourable
217. } conditions, and began to prepare for a more distant enterprise, by collecting a navy, and by strengthening the fortresses in western Macedonia.

16. Without formally publishing a declaration of war, Philip made an abortive attempt to seize on the Roman fleet; he was more successful in an invasion of Il'lyria, the greater part of which he annexed to his own dominions, and soon after he entered into a close alliance with Annibal and the Carthaginian republic. 17. Hitherto the conduct of Philip in Greece had been so just and honourable, that all the states looked upon him as their common benefactor; but now his mind became corrupted by continued success, and he resolved to make himself master of the entire country. Ara'tus still possessed some influence over his mind, and kept him from seizing on the fortress of Itho'me; but Philip, weary of his virtuous adviser, poisoned him at a banquet, and thenceforward proceeded in a career of crime, which terminated in his ruin. The Achæans honoured the remains of Ara'tus with a public funeral; the Sicyonians erected a statue to his memory, and venerated him as something more

* See Roman History, chap. XV.



Death of Aratus by poison.

than mortal ; all Greece joined in mourning for his death, and execrating his murderer.

18. The Romans, deeply engaged in the Cartha- { B.C.
ginian war, even though Annibal was almost at their { 210.
very gates, did not neglect to watch the rising power of Philip, and to take measures to prevent its progress. They succeeded in stimulating the ever-restless Æto'lians to renew the war, and purchased their alliance by the gift of several important places, which their united forces had wrested from the Acarna'nians. At'talus, king of Per'gamus, and the Lacedæmo'nians, soon joined the confederacy ; and about the same time Philip, by his vicious profligacy at the Neme'an games, disgusted his most faithful allies, the Achæ'ans. A desultory war was carried on for some time with various success, but the naval power of the confederates opened to them resources which enabled them speedily to retrieve their losses, while Philip was exhausted even by his victories. 19. Several circumstances, however, contributed to relieve him from his distress. At'talus was obliged to return to Asia, in order to defend his dominions against Pru'sias, king of Bithyn'ia ; the Romans were too much engrossed by the Carthaginian war to continue their exertions in Greece, and the Achæ'ans, under the command of Philopœ'men, had subdued the Lacedæmo'nians, and restored the tranquillity of the Peloponnesus.

20. Philopœ'men was a native of Megalop'olis, in Arca'dia ; from his earliest years he had been inured to a military life, and a charge of cavalry which he headed at Sella'sia is

said to have greatly contributed to the success of the confederates in that glorious battle. He afterwards served in Crete with distinguished success, but, on the renewal of the war in the Peloponnese he returned home, and being placed at the head of the cavalry, which had been long the worst part of the Achæan forces, soon made it the most efficient body of horse in Greece. 21. Sparta was at this time governed by the tyrant Machan'ides, who had raised himself to the throne by the assistance of the mercenary troops; he had entered into strict alliance with the Ætolians, and had already committed fearful ravages on the lands of several Achæan states. Philopœ'men being appointed general of
 B.C. } the league, advanced against the tyrant, and the
 208. } armies came to an engagement near Mantinei'a, not far from the field where Epaminondas conquered and fell. The mercenaries of Machan'idas broke the troops opposed to them, and the tyrant, believing the victory secure, inconsiderately hurried on in the pursuit; but Philopœ'men in the mean time routed the Spartans, whose lines were disordered, having forced their broken ranks by the close array of his phalanx, and then falling on the scattered mercenaries, cut them down without resistance. 22. Machan'idas hasted back, to retrieve, if possible, the fortunes of the day; but while in the act of leaping a trench which the Achæans had cut to fortify their lines, he was slain by the hand of Philopœ'men, and most of the instruments of his tyranny were slaughtered without mercy. The Lacedæmo'nians were by this defeat reduced to such distress that they could no longer protect their own territories; they submitted to the terms of peace dictated by the conquerors, and tranquillity was again restored to the Peloponnesus.

B.C. } 23. The Ætolians thus deserted by all their allies,
 207. } made peace with Philip; a Roman fleet which arrived after the preliminaries had been signed, failed in disturbing the arrangements, and the desultory war was terminated by a general pacification.

Questions for Examination.

1. When was the Achæan league restored?
2. Under whose guidance was Sicyon joined to the confederacy?
3. What was the first enterprise of Aratus?
4. By whose jealousy were the beneficial effects of the Achæan league prevented?

5. Why did the Lacedæmonians oppose the Achæans?
 6. What caused the civil wars in Sparta?
 7. How did Pyrrhus die?
 8. What effort of king Agis renewed the civil wars?
 9. What enterprise did Cleomenes undertake?
 10. Did the death of Antigonus strengthen the Achæans?
 11. What changes did the ambition of Cleomenes produce?
 12. How did the war terminate?
 13. By what people was the war renewed?
 14. By whom were the Ætolians subdued?
 15. Why did Philip grant them favourable conditions of peace?
 16. How did Philip provoke the resentment of the Romans?
 17. Of what crimes was Philip guilty?
 18. What enemies now harassed Philip?
 19. What saved Philip from ruin?
 20. Who was Philopœmen?
 21. What great victory did Philopœmen obtain over the Spartans?
 22. What were the consequences of this victory?
 23. How did the Ætolians act under these circumstances?
-

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WARS BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND MACEDONIANS.

1. THE several revolutions which had taken place at Athens, joined to the superior power of the Macedonian kings, had completely destroyed all the former power of that city; its colonies were subject to other masters, its commerce was destroyed, and its harbours deserted. But the memory of its former fame, and still more the successful cultivation of literature and the fine arts, made it still respected, and induced the successors of Alexander to court the favour of a people, whose monopoly of literature made them the sole arbiters of fame. The kings of Egypt, Syria, and Thrace sent frequent donations of money and corn to the Athenian people, for which they were repaid by the most extravagant flattery; and thus a state which had once ruled Greece, now became dependent almost for subsistence on the vanity of the neighbouring princes. 2. At'talus, king of Per'gamus, particularly distinguished himself by the liberality of his donations, and the honours lavished on him in return provoked the resentment of Philip, too

avaricious to purchase similar praise for himself, but too envious to view it given to another with patience. 3. The ambitious desire of Pru'sias, king of Bithynia, the ally of Philip, to acquire some naval stations in the Æ'gean, had already provoked the hostility of Attalus and the Rho'dians, and as he was notoriously aided by Philip, the war with Macedon was renewed. About the same time the Athenians, having put to death two Acarna'nian youths for violating the mysteries of Ce'res, were exposed to a fierce attack from their countrymen, who being aided by the Macedonians, spread ruin through the entire of At'tica. 4. The Athenians in their distress applied to the Romans for assistance, and that people having just gloriously terminated the second Punic war, eagerly embraced an opportunity for extending their influence in Greece. Philip was not daunted
 B.C. } by such a formidable confederacy; he opened the
 200. } campaign by the siege of Aby'dos in Thrace, but met with most obstinate resistance. Though deserted by their allies, the Abydenes did not propose a capitulation until their walls lay in ruins, and when they could not obtain favourable terms, they preferred death to a surrender. 5. The Roman auxiliaries did not arrive until the end of the autumn, but on their landing they vigorously commenced operations. Their first enterprise was the storming of Chal'sis in the island of Eubæ'a, where Philip had deposited the greater part of his military stores. By the negligence of the garrison and the treachery of some of the townsmen, this important conquest was effected with little loss; but the Romans sullied their victory by cruelly destroying the town and slaughtering the inhabitants. 6. Philip in revenge made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Athens; when this failed he vented his rage on the villages of Attica, which he totally ruined, not even sparing the tombs and temples.

7. During the winter Philip in vain attempted to secure the assistance of the Achæans, by offering to assist them in subduing Na'bis, the successor of Machan'idæ at Lacedæmon. But though Na'bis was as cruel and as formidable as his predecessor, the murder of Ara'tus and the dread of the Roman power induced the Achæans to reject the proffers of their former ally. 8. The Romans were at first equally unsuccessful in procuring the assistance the Æto'lians, who believed that they had been deserted in the former war; but the successes of the consul Flamin'ius, to whom the

conduct of the ensuing campaigns was intrusted, soon induced them to change their minds, and the Ætoli'ans fearfully devastated Thessaly. The battle which decided the fate of the war was fought at Cynosceph'alæ, a place { B.C. named from the fancied resemblance of the hills by } 197. which it is surrounded to the heads of dogs.* The engagement began by the accidental meeting of the outposts in a thick fog; the skirmish grew momentarily more warm, as each party sent up reinforcements to the assistance of their van. The Macedonians were unfortunately in their order of march, while the Romans were drawn out in regular order of battle. Philip's right wing was at first successful, but his left and centre broke at the very first onset; the victorious wing was attacked in the rear before it had time to change its front, and a total rout ensued; of the Macedonians, eight thousand were slain, and five thousand taken prisoners; the loss of the Romans did not exceed seven hundred men.

11. This decisive victory led to a peace, to the great indignation of the Ætoli'ans, who ardently desired the total destruction of Philip, and were besides anxious to continue their plundering expeditions; but Flamin'ius was now able to do without their assistance, and disregarded all their protestations. Several circumstances made it expedient to put an end to the war; the Macedonians, though defeated, could still have continued a formidable resistance; the Achæans could scarcely be expected to view with patience the total destruction of their ancient ally, and above all, the rapidly increasing power of Anti'ochus, king of Syria, threatened the Romans with a more formidable competitor for empire than Philip had been in the days of his greatest prosperity.

12. At the ensuing Isthmian games, the Roman { B.C. commissioners, who had been appointed to regulate } 196. the affairs of Greece, caused a proclamation to be made, that "the Romans having subdued Philip, restored to liberty all the states which had been hitherto tributary to the Macedonians." The voice of the herald was drowned by the applauses of the multitude; the games passed over unheeded, while the spectators indulged in dreams of returning liberty and happiness. They had yet to learn that the freedom which is held by the uncertain tenure of another's will, is scarcely worth having.

13. Flamin'ius appears to have been sincere in his pro-

* Κυνος κεφαλή.

fessions of attachment to Greece; he wrested Argos from the tyranny of Na'bis, and endeavoured, though ineffectually, to drive him from Lacedæmon; but all his efforts to conciliate the Æto'lians failed; they thought that their interests had been neglected in the late treaty, and were enraged at the ingratitude of their ancient ally. 14. Their own strength was insufficient to cope with the power of Rome, but they hoped to unite Antiochus, Philip, and the Spartans in a confederacy for the independence of Greece, and they would probably have succeeded but for the base treachery which characterized all their proceedings. 15. As Na'bis, at their persuasion, had engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Achæans, he made frequent applications to the Ætolians for assistance; a body of troops was accordingly sent to Sparta with secret orders to join in any enterprise that their commander should dictate, even though it should be apparently inconsistent with the professed object of their expedition. The enterprise was the murder of Na'bis, which was put in execution while the tyrant was reviewing his army; but the Ætolian general, instead of conciliating the Spartans by proclaiming freedom, proceeded to plunder the royal treasures. 16. This was too much for the citizens to bear; they took up arms, and slaughtered the Æto'lians without mercy. In the mean time Philopœmen, on the first B.C. } news of the event, marched to Lacedæmon, and 191. } partly by threats, partly by promises, persuaded the citizens to join the Achæ'an league. Thus the treachery of the Ætolians had no other effect than to strengthen the power of their enemies.

17. Anti'ochus had not forgotten the insulting manner in which the Romans had interfered to check his career of conquest, but the defeat of Philip terrified him into the concealment of his resentment. While he was yet deliberating on the propriety of war, An'nibal, whom his ungrateful country had driven into exile, arrived at his court, and finally persuaded him to commence war. 18. Instead of adopting the judicious advice of Annibal, and attacking the Romans in Italy, he wasted precious time in endeavouring to procure the assistance of some minor Grecian states. He gained abundance of promises from the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Ætolians, but on the approach of a Roman army under the command of the consul Gla'brius, he found that his allies either would or could not send him the promised contingents, while his alliance with them had induced the Macedonians and



Philopœmen surprised in a defile.

Achæans to join his enemies. 19. After a series of manœuvres, which showed him to be as deficient in military as political skill, he posted himself at the straits of Thermopylæ, and was there totally defeated. He immediately fled from Greece, leaving the Romans to treat his allies as they thought proper. In the following year he was defeated in Asia by Corne'lius Scip'io, and compelled to beg peace on the most humiliating conditions. 20. The Ætolians, being thus left alone, sought pardon from the irritated Romans, which after much difficulty and delay was granted; the terms { B.C. that they obtained were, however, less severe than { 190. might have been expected, but they were sufficiently harsh, to show that the Romans were resolved to retain the supremacy of Greece, and to punish all who ventured to resist their sway. 21. The Lacedæmonians, though nominally united to the Achæan league, still retained a deep sense of their degradation, and resolved to take the first opportunity of restoring to Sparta the supremacy of the Laconian cities. They made an attack by night on one of the towns on the sea-coast, and though they were defeated, the attempt created such alarm in Laco'nia, that an appeal was made to the Achæans. The consul Ful'vius endeavoured to prevent the war, by advising both parties to refer the arbitration of their disputes to the senate at Rome; but the answer of the senate was couched in such ambiguous terms that the Achæans thought themselves at liberty to act as they pleased, and forthwith sent a numerous army against Sparta under the command of Philopœ'men. 22. The Lacedæmonians were

obliged to surrender at discretion, a great number of their
 B.C. } leading men were slain by the exiles who had joined
 191. } the invading army, and the laws of Lycurgus, which
 they had ever looked on as the great source of their strength,
 were totally abolished. 23. The Romans believed, or pretended to believe, that too much severity had been shown to the Lacedæmo'nians, and compelled the Achæans to restore those whom they had driven into exile; but this humanity was a mere pretext to conceal their jealousy of the Achæan confederacy, on which now rested the last hopes of Grecian independence. 24. Soon after the city of Messe'ne revolted from the league, with the tacit approbation of the Romans, and Philopœ'men was sent to reduce it to obedience. In passing through a defile, the aged general was
 B.C. } unfortunately surprised, and made prisoner. He
 183. } was sent to Messe'ne under a strong guard, but the magistrates of the city, dreading his influence with the people, ordered him to be immediately put to death. 25. Thus fell the last of the long list of Grecian heroes, at the moment when his country stood most in need of his abilities. His valour had subdued the enemies of the Achæans in the Peloponnesus, and his political wisdom had shielded them from the still greater danger of affording the Romans a pretence for interfering in their domestic arrangements; though living in a democratic government, he did not court the favour of the people, and yet always commanded their respect, and during the forty years that he managed the affairs of government, his integrity was never even suspected. 26. The Achæans soon avenged the murder of their favourite general; the Messe'nians were compelled to surrender to a numerous army, commanded by Lycor'tas; all that had participated in the crime were put to death, and the city was reunited to the confederacy.

27. While these events were occurring in the Peloponnesus, the state of affairs in northern Greece boded a speedy termination to the peace between Rome and Macedon. At the conclusion of the former war, Philip had sent his son Demetrius as a hostage to Rome, where the young prince soon became a universal favourite; in consequence of Philip's fidelity during the war with Antio'chus; all the Macedonian hostages were set at liberty, and Demetrius returned home. But the favour shown to the young prince had excited the jealous suspicions of Philip, which the artifices of his other son, Perseus, continually increased, until

at length the king ordered his unfortunate son to be poisoned. 28. The brief remainder of Philip's days were imbittered by remorse; he soon learned the innocence of Deme'trius and the guilt of Perseus; he knew that his subjects hated him for his tyrannical government, the Romans were eagerly seeking an opportunity to attack him, and his son Per'seus was notoriously eager for the moment of his dissolution. The anxiety and agony of mind produced by these combined causes was too much to bear; he was seized with a mortal disease, and died unlamented.

29. Immediately after his accession to the throne, { B.C.
Perseus sent an embassy to Rome, which was ho- { 180.
nourably received. He then laboured, and not without success, to efface the memory of his crimes from the minds both of his own subjects and the other Greeks; but in spite of all his caution there were occasional bursts of violence, which showed that his gentleness of disposition was only assumed, to answer a particular purpose. The Romans soon discovered that a new contest for the supremacy of Greece was impending, and exerted all their influence to prevent the Macedonian monarch from being received into alliance with the Achæans. In this they were seconded by Eu'menes, king of Per'gamus, the hereditary enemy of the Macedonian house, and a long diplomatic contest was the prelude to fiercer and more destructive hostilities. The Achæans rejected the alliance of Perseus, but he had more success with some of the minor states, and besides he saw that the native resources of his kingdom had been retrieved during the long interval of tranquillity that followed the defeat of Philip.

30. War was at length declared by the Roman { B.C.
senate, an army ordered to be levied under the com- { 172.
mand of the consul Licin'ius, and commissioners sent into Greece to exhort the allies to preserve their fidelity. At this important crisis the courage of Per'seus began to fail, he solicited a truce from the commissioners, which, as the Romans had not completed their preparations, was readily granted, but his offers of peace were rejected, and he had the additional mortification to see the Roman party triumph in Bœo'tia, while the truce prevented him from bringing assistance to his friends. 31. The consul soon landed with his army, and advanced through Epi'rus into Thessaly, where he was joined by Eu'menes and some other auxiliaries. Some indecisive engagements followed, in which Per'seus,

on the whole, had the advantage, but he neglected to follow up his success, and showed his timidity by repeatedly sending embassies to solicit peace, while the Romans rose in their demands after every reverse of fortune. The war lingered in the three following campaigns, the generals sent out by the Romans showed but little skill, and the commissioners disgusted the allies by their pride and avarice; on the other side, Per'seus neglected many opportunities of attacking his enemies when their rashness exposed them to certain defeat, and failed in obtaining the aid of any allies, except the barbarous Illyrians.

B.C. } 32. At length the conduct of the Macedonian war
168. } was intrusted to the consul Lucius Æmil'ius Paul'-
us, a warrior of distinguished abilities. He first sent the prætor Anutius into Illyria, by whom that kingdom was totally subdued in thirty days. Æmil'ius himself advanced into Macedonia, and found Perseus strongly intrenched on the banks of the river Enip'us. The Romans were unable to force the enemies' lines, but a detachment which had been sent over Mount Olympus having surprised the Macedonian guard, Perseus found his position no longer tenable, and therefore retreated to Pyd'na. 33. The consul soon followed him, but the caution of the two commanders delayed for a time a decisive engagement. While the armies lay encamped in sight of each other, the Macedonians were terrified by an eclipse of the moon, which they superstitiously believed to forebode the ruin of their kingdom; the Romans were not affected with similar fear, for Gal'lus, one of their officers, was sufficiently acquainted with science to calculate the time of its occurrence and explain its cause. 34. On the following day accident brought on an engagement, in which Perseus was totally defeated, and more than twenty thousand of his soldiers slain. Within a few days after the battle all Macedonia submitted to the conqueror, and its wretched monarch, after many vain attempts to escape, was forced to yield himself a prisoner. He was taken to Rome by the consul, and led as a captive in his triumphal procession, after which he was thrown into prison, where grief soon terminated his miserable life.

Questions for Examination.

1. What was the condition of Athens at this time ?
2. Why was Philip jealous of Attalus ?
3. What circumstances brought on a new war ?
4. How did Philip begin the war ?
5. By what means did the Romans capture Chalcis ?
6. How did Philip attempt to take revenge ?
7. Why did the Achæans refuse the alliance of Philip ?
8. What induced the Ætolians to join the Romans ?
9. Where was the fate of the war decided ?
10. How was the battle won ?
11. Why was Flaminius anxious to conclude the war ?
12. Did the Romans on this occasion obtain the gratitude of the Greeks ?
13. How does it appear that Flaminius was sincere ?
14. What new confederacy was formed against the Romans ?
15. Of what treachery were the Ætolians guilty ?
16. What was the result of this treachery ?
17. By whose persuasion did Antiochus renew the war ?
18. Of what errors was Antiochus guilty ?
19. How did the war terminate ?
20. How were the Ætolians treated by the Romans ?
21. What caused a fresh war between the Achæans and Spartans ?
22. How were the Lacedæmonians treated ?
23. Did the Romans interfere in these transactions ?
24. What circumstances caused the murder of Philopœmen ?
25. What was his character ?
26. Did the Achæans avenge his death ?
27. Why did Philip put his son Demetrius to death ?
28. What was the consequence of this crime ?
29. What led to the second Macedonian war ?
30. How did Perseus show his incapacity in the very outset ?
31. In what manner was the war conducted ?
32. Where did Æmilius bring Perseus to an engagement ?
33. What curious circumstance took place before the decisive battle ?
34. How was the second Macedonian war terminated ?

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUBJUGATION OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS.

1. THE Epi'rotes had revolted from the Romans, in the beginning of the war, and were now by the defeat of Perseus left totally at the mercy of the consul. Æmilius at first received their submission, but soon after by order of the

senate he gave up all their cities to be pillaged, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. The soldiers sent to execute this barbarous decree, timed their departure so well, that the desolation commenced at the same time in every part of Epi'rus. Thus in one day seventy cities were destroyed, and 150,000 men sold as slaves; an instance of atrocious revenge not to be paralleled in history.

2. Macedo'nia, Thes'saly, and Epi'rus, being reduced into a Roman province, though permitted to retain a qualified independence, the Achæans next engaged the attention of the ambitious republic. The senate began secretly to encourage some of the Peloponnesian states to withdraw from the confederacy, and prohibited the Achæans from attempting to bring them back by force of arms. The popular indignation at this unmerited display of hostility was violent in all the Achæan cities, but the nobility, who knew well the overwhelming power of Rome, were unwilling to risk the hazard of a contest. 3. At length Critola'us, who had been always remarkable for his hatred of foreign influence, being chosen general of the league, the long-concealed hostility terminated in open war. Metel'lus, who had been sent to quell a rebellion in Macedon, raised by an impostor named Andris'cus, who pretended to be the son of Per'seus, sent an embassy to the Achæans which was treated with contempt. 4. He then marched his forces into Phthio'tis, a province of Thes'saly, where Critola'us was besieging Heraclei'a, a city that had revolted from the league. On the approach of the Roman army, the Achæan general retreated through the straits of Thermop'ylæ, where he did not even attempt to make a stand; but notwithstanding his precipitation he was overtaken near Scarphe'ia in eastern Lo'cris, and forced to come to an engagement, in which his army was totally defeated and himself slain. 5. This victory was followed by the submission of all Hellas, and Metellus was about to lead his victorious army into the Peloponnesus, when he was obliged to resign his command to the consul Mum'mius, and return to his Macedonian province. B.C. } 6. Di'æus, who had succeeded Critola'us, con-
147. } centrated his forces in Corinth, which Mummius immediately invested. Some slight success obtained by the negligence of the besiegers, induced the Achæans to venture on a pitched battle, in which they were totally defeated. Di'æus fled to Megalop'olis, where he died by his own hand; the garrison, deserted by their leader, abandoned the

city in the night, and Mummius became master of Corinth without any further opposition. 7. But this did not save the unfortunate city from total ruin; by command of the consul all the men were slain, the woman and children made slaves, all the works of art that adorned the temples and public buildings sent as trophies to Rome, and those edifices which had so long attracted universal admiration, levelled with the ground. A heap of ruins alone remained to tell where Corinth stood.

8. From this time forward Greece became a Roman province, governed by an annual magistrate; the states however preserved their own laws, and separate jurisdiction, and were treated rather as tributary allies than as subjects. Sparta and the Peloponnesian states soon sunk into insignificance, and were forgotten; but the literary fame of Athens still preserved her celebrity, and that city soon became the university whither all the studious youth in the extensive dominions of Rome flocked for instruction.

9. The Grecian states were divided by the Romans into two provinces, Achaia and Macedonia: the inhabitants of the states seem to have lost all their energy with their liberty, for during a long period after the capture of Corinth, the name of Greece scarcely occurs in history. At length a formidable enemy to the Romans sprang up in the east, and, fatally for themselves, induced many of the Grecian states to embrace his cause. This was Mithridates, king of Pontus, on the north-eastern shores of the Euxine { B.C. sea. The character of Mithridates is only known { 87. to us through the writings of his enemies, and we must therefore receive with caution the accounts of the crimes which are said to have stained the commencement of his reign. His abilities are incontestable, since with all the disadvantages of cowardly soldiers, treacherous generals, and faithless allies, he was able to maintain a doubtful contest with Rome at the time of its greatest strength, and when its armies were headed by such generals as Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey. His literary talents are said to have been of a very superior order: historians tell us that he could speak and write twenty-four languages; a book on Botany is ascribed to him, and an antidote which he is said to have discovered still retains his name.

11. The avarice and cruelty of the Roman governors in Asia Minor, had made the whole nation so unpopular, that Mithridates, on publishing his declaration of war, received

offers of assistance from all sides. He issued a circular to the Asiatic cities, commanding the massacre of all the Italians who resided in the east; his orders were strictly obeyed, and in one day eighty thousand Latins were assassinated. 12. The Roman proconsul having assembled the forces of the provinces, hastened to check his progress, but his army was routed with dreadful slaughter, and all Western Asia fell under the dominion of Mithrida'tes. Europe next engaged the attention of the king; he scoured the Ægean sea with a powerful fleet, and sent a large army through Thrace and Macedonia into Greece. 13. The Athenians, who had been fined by the Roman senate for some unknown cause, eagerly embraced the cause of Mithrida'tes: they expected from him the restoration of their beloved democracy, and eagerly solicited the king's general, Archela'us, to advance to the city. A great part of the nobility, foreseeing the impending storm, fled to Italy; the remainder were either murdered by the populace, or given up as prisoners to the king of Pontus.

14. When the news of these events reached Italy, the senate resolved to give the conduct of the war to Sylla, the favourite leader of the aristocracy; the people were equally anxious to make Marius general, and the disputed command produced a civil war, which terminated in the appointment of Sylla. 15. When the Roman general arrived in Greece, he received the submission of most of the states; but the Athenians boldly set him at defiance. Aris'tion, a leading demagogue, undertook the defence of the city, while Archela'us shut himself up in the Peiræus. Sylla advanced to besiege the city, incensed at the audacity of the inhabitants in thus daring to resist the Roman power, and still more irritated by a personal insult which had been offered to himself. He was vain of his personal appearance, which however had been disfigured by riot and intemperance; this was too good an opportunity for a jest to escape the laughter-loving Athenians—they produced several epigrams on the occasion, one of which stated

“Sylla's face is a mulberry sprinkled with meal;”

a piece of wit for which they were destined to suffer very severely.

B.C. } 16. The first attack of Sylla was made on the long
86. } walls that joined the Peiræ'us to Athens. This enter-
prise was successful, and the communication with the

harbour being cut off, famine soon began to rage in the city. The insolence and tyranny of Aris'tion increased the horrors of hunger, and it was not without difficulty that he was persuaded to send an embassy to Sylla, to treat about a capitulation. 17. The deputies sent on this occasion addressed a long speech to the consul on the ancient glories of Athens, the exploits of Theseus, and the events of the Persian war; but Sylla cut them short by declaring that "he came not to study rhetoric, but to punish rebels."

18. Aris'tion dreading the vengeance of Sylla, resolved after the return of his ambassadors to defend the city to the last; he even put to death all those whom he suspected of an inclination to surrender. At length Sylla captured the city by a night-attack on a part of the wall which had been left unguarded, and a fearful scene of massacre ensued.

19. The soldiers spared neither sex nor age; blood flowed in streams through the gates of the city; many killed themselves to avoid the cruelty of the enemy; it was not without the most earnest supplications that the Athenian exiles, aided by all the Roman senators in the camp, prevailed on the general to give orders that the slaughter should cease, and that a miserable remnant should be permitted to wander through the once powerful city.

20. The Peiræ'us was taken shortly after the capture of Athens, and Archela'us, after a vain attempt to make a stand in Munych'ia, retired into Bœo'tia. Hither he was pursued by Sylla; the armies met on the plains of Chæro-nei'a, where Philip of Macedon had before crushed the liberties of Greece; the battle was obstinate and bloody, but the superior discipline of the Romans finally prevailed, and Archelaus fled with his shattered forces to the Hellespont. A second army sent out by Mithrida'tes shared the same fate, and Sylla passed over into Asia to continue the war. Repeated reverses induced Mithrida'tes to sue for peace, which Sylla granted the more readily, as the { B.C.
triumph of the Marian faction at Rome made him { 84.
eager to return to Italy.

21. The war with Mithrida'tes was subsequently renewed, but as Greece bore no share in the contest, it is sufficient to state here, that after a protracted resistance, and many changes of fortune, the unfortunate king was stripped of all his dominions, and could only escape from being dragged in triumph as a captive by suicide. 22. In the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, the Greeks for the most part

sided with the latter, but when the fate of the world was decided at Pharsa'lia, they submitted to Cæsar without a struggle, and were treated with great lenity. After the death of Cæsar, we find the Athenians eagerly supporting the party of Brutus and Cassius, whose statues they erected next to those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, but after the battle of Philippi they surrendered to the triumvirs, and seem to have met with unexpected and unusual clemency.

Questions for Examination.

1. How were the Epirotes treated by the Romans ?
2. In what manner did the Romans endeavour to weaken the Achæans ?
3. How did the war between the Achæans and Romans begin ?
4. What reverses did Critolaus meet ?
5. Who next assumed the command of the Roman army ?
6. How was Corinth taken ?
7. In what manner were the inhabitants treated by Mummius ?
8. How was Greece governed by the Romans ?
9. By whom were the Greeks induced to revolt ?
10. What was the character of Mithridates ?
11. Why were the atrocious orders of Mithridates readily obeyed ?
12. Did Mithridates obtain any successes ?
13. By what Grecian state was he joined ?
14. Whom did the Romans send against Mithridates ?
15. How did the Athenians provoke the resentment of Sylla ?
16. What compelled the Athenians to capitulate ?
17. How did Sylla treat the deputies ?
18. By what means was the city taken ?
19. In what manner were the inhabitants treated ?
20. How was this war terminated ?
21. What became of Mithridates ?
22. What part did the Greeks take in the Roman civil wars ?

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MODERN HISTORY OF GREECE.

1. THE subjugation of Greece by the Romans* is the last event usually recorded by the historians of that country ; for

* The history of Greece under the dominion of Rome is totally destitute of importance ; the few incidental notices contained in the later historians are vague and unsatisfactory, and the few public transactions recorded are mere petty disputes about tribute. The different states

nearly two thousand years, the name remained blotted from the list of nations, and the country continued subject to a succession of despotic rulers, whose tyranny exhausted the soil and demoralized the inhabitants. But a new era is now about to commence ; Greece, so long degraded and debased, has burst the bonds by which she was enthralled, and the historian may now turn from the contemplation of her fall to view the brighter prospects opened by her late regeneration. It has been, therefore, deemed expedient to conclude this volume with a brief sketch of modern Grecian history, and furnish the youthful student with a short account of the present state of a people, whose ancient history has occupied so large a share of his interest and attention.

After the division of the Roman dominions into the Eastern and Western empires, Greece became a part of the former, and shared in all its changes of fortune. 2. Some short time before the crusades, several Sicilian and Norman adventurers established themselves on the sea-coasts, and erected the neighbouring districts into principalities, from which they took the titles of dukes and counts. When a Latin empire was established at Constantinople, in the fourth crusade, the number of these feudal lords was greatly increased ; but as they had no principle of union, these petty

seem to have preserved their own laws and customs, but an appeal lay from their tribunals to the provincial governor, and in his hands was lodged the power of life and death. When St. Paul travelled through the country we find the native magistrates totally destitute of power, complaints being made to Gallio, the Roman deputy, and not to any of the Achæan rulers. From the same source we obtain some glimpse of the state of Athens and Corinth ; but Thebes and Sparta seem to have sunk into insignificance. Athens was the favourite residence of the philosophers, and the seat of all the learning of the period. Its inhabitants were still as lively and as restless as their ancestors, but literature occupied their attention instead of politics.

“ For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing.” Acts xvii. 21.

In consequence of listening to continued disputes, the Athenians had become a more tolerant people than they were when Anaxagoras was exiled, and Socrates sentenced to death. The apostle, though described as a “ setter-forth of strange gods,” the very words of the charge against Socrates, was heard with attention, and even permitted to make converts. Under the emperors Athens seems to have been more favourably treated than any other provincial city. Nero, through ambition of literary fame, repaid the flatteries of the Athenians by splendid donations ;—Adrian restored the laws of Solon, and completed several of the public buildings which still remained unfinished.

states soon fell into decay, and Greece once more returned under the sovereignty of the Byzan'tine emperors. 3. The followers of Moham'med had in the very first century of their victorious career wrested Syria from the eastern empire, and progressively mastered the Asiatic provinces one after another. The condition of the empire, and the vices of its subjects were such, indeed, that we may well be surprised at the length of time which elapsed before its ruin was finally consummated; and had not the successive Tartar invasions given sufficient employment to the Moham'medans in Asia, Constantinople would have fallen before the termination of the crusades.* 4. Nor would this ruin have been averted by the interference of any of the other Christian states; for in consequence of some slight difference in their respective creeds, the followers of the eastern and western churches hated each other more cordially than either did the infidels. During the crusades, the Greek emperors frequently betrayed the Latin adventurers, and the latter in their turn looked on the Greeks with equal contempt and detestation. 5. When at length the Turkish power was

A.D. } consolidated under Othman or Ottoman, the rich
1352. } provinces of the Grecian empire became the prey
of that warlike chieftain. His conquests were extended by his successors, who subdued all the northern provinces that form the present kingdom of Turkey, and made Adrianople the capital of their dominions. 6. The fate of Constantinople was for a time averted by the conquests of Timour or Tamerlane in Asia, which compelled the Turkish sultan to provide for the safety of that part of his dominions; and by the valour of Scanderbeg, the king of Epirus. The destruction of the Grecian empire might probably have been averted, if Scanderbeg had possessed resources equal to his skill and courage; but unfortunately he could never assemble more than a handful of followers, and all appeals to the Greeks to join him in struggling for independence were disregarded. After his death, the Turks, believing him something more than mortal, made relics of his bones, and wore them as a preservative against danger.

A.D. } 7. Mohammed II., the most warlike of the
1453. } Turkish sultans, resolved to complete the overthrow of the Greek empire, and laid siege to Constantinople. The defence of the city was obstinate; Constantine, its last

* See Historical Miscellany, part III. chap. VIII.

sovereign, a prince equally conspicuous for piety and valour, showed himself most worthy of his crown at the moment when he was about to lose it for ever; the garrison seconded the labours of their gallant leader; the citizens fought bravely in defence of their families and homes. But all was in vain; the Turks having conveyed their galleys over land, launched them in the harbour of Constantinople, and the city was at the same moment attacked with overwhelming forces both by sea and land. On the 29th of May, the fatal assault was given, Constantine fell gallantly fighting to the last, and the eastern empire was no more. 8. The Turks, on this as on all other occasions, treated the vanquished with the most remorseless cruelty, and murdered them by thousands in cold blood. The rest of Greece soon shared the fate of the capital, and except a few wanderers, who took shelter in the mountain-fastnesses, the entire country became subject to the Mohammedans.

9. In the latter end of the seventeenth century, the Venetians acquired great power in the Ægean sea, and made themselves masters of the Morea or southern peninsula of Greece, anciently called the Peloponnesus. Though boasting of their republican constitution, the Venetians treated their Greek subjects very tyrannically, and when they were driven from their conquests at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the Turks, there was little reason for the inhabitants of the Morea to lament the change of masters.

10. The gradual decline of the Turkish empire during the last and present century is sufficiently obvious. By obstinately adhering to the institutions of their ancestors, the Turks have remained stationary, while the nations around them have been rapidly advancing; and were it not for the mutual jealousy of the European sovereigns, they would long since have been driven back to the deserts of their forefathers. The Greeks still preserved in their bondage the memory of their former national glory, but the jealous tyranny by which they were deprived of the use of arms rendered all their aspirations for freedom vain. Their condition indeed was the most wretched that can be conceived; the meanest Turk insulted the most honourable Greek with impunity; their properties, their lives, the honour of their wives and children, depended on the caprice of ferocious barbarians, who hesitated not to commit the vilest outrages in mere wantonness. If under such circumstances the Greek character became sullied by treachery and cunning, let it be

remembered, that stern necessity leaves no other means of defence in the power of a slave. The Greeks were sufficiently sagacious to perceive the decay of the Turkish power in the middle of the last century, and even at that early period projects for obtaining independence appear to have been formed. 11. When Catherine II. empress of Russia, went to war with Turkey, she incited the Greeks to revolt; an invitation which, unfortunately for themselves, they

A.D. } obeyed. The Russians made peace with the Porte,
1792. } but entered into no stipulations in behalf of their allies. The Turks consequently massacred, without interruption and without mercy, innumerable multitudes of the Greeks; nor was their vengeance limited to those who had taken a share in the insurrection; women and children were murdered as well as soldiers, and the entire extermination of the Greek nation was prevented only by the dread of losing the capitation-tax, which the Turkish government

A.D. } levies on its Christian subjects. 12. The invasion
1798. } of Egypt by the French produced some abortive attempts at revolt in the Morea, which were punished with the usual barbarous severity; the extermination of the Greeks was a second time proposed, and a second time

A.D. } Turkish avarice prevailed over Turkish cruelty.
1800. } 13. The first great insurrection which shook the Ottoman power was that of the Servians; they were headed by Georges Petrowich, more usually named Czerni (i. e. Black) George, from the colour of his hair. This fierce leader of insurrection had been in his early youth obliged to fly from his country, in consequence of his having murdered a Turk, by whom he had been insulted. He entered into the Austrian service, but never attained higher rank than that of sergeant. His call on his countrymen to shake off the yoke was enthusiastically obeyed, and so successful were his efforts, that in 1806 he became master of Belgrade. 14. The war with Russia, which broke out in the following year, afforded the Servians great opportunities of securing their freedom, but the Russians were soon obliged to withdraw their forces, in order to repel the French invasion. A

A.D. } treaty was concluded with Turkey, by which the
1812. } Servians were abandoned to their fate; overwhelming forces were sent against them, and Czerni George, after a brave but useless resistance, fled for safety to Russia. 15. The Turks, as usual, made a cruel use of their success, and on this occasion added perfidy to their barbarity; for in



Massacre of the Greeks in 1812.

order to entice their victims into their power, an amnesty was published, and all those who returned on the faith of it were cruelly put to death. Czerni George attempted to renew the war in 1817, but was betrayed to the Turks, and instantly executed.

16. The Greeks had sunk into a state of ignorance almost as brutal as that of their oppressors, but towards the close of the last century a taste for literature began to spread through the nation, and impatience of the Turkish yoke gained strength with the advance of knowledge. The patriotic songs of Rhigas, whom the oppressors put to death, were circulated among the peasantry, and made them ripe for revolt. A confederacy of the higher ranks, called the *Hetæri'a*, (society,) was formed for the ostensible purpose of diffusing knowledge, but really with a view to establish Grecian independence. The year 1825 was chosen for making the grand attempt, as by that time the members calculated that their preparations would have arrived at sufficient maturity.

17. Circumstances, however, precipitated the commencement of the revolt. The celebrated Ali { A.D. 1820. Pacha of Jannina, having subdued the Suliotes, who had till then preserved their independence in the mountain-fastnesses of Epirus, and having obtained possession of Parga, the last retreat of Grecian freedom, thought himself sufficiently strong to resist the sultan, and commenced a civil war. The Greeks saw with pleasure their oppressors wasting each other's strength, and had the additional gratification of

being courted by both parties. In the course of the war several Grecian troops were organized and armed; but the Turks soon became aware of the error they had committed, and prepared to retrace their steps. 18. The Hetærists saw that no time was to be lost, and having chosen prince Alexander Ipsilanti as their leader, resolved immediately to commence the war. Ipsilanti was at the time an officer in the Russian service, and it is doubtful whether his enterprise, though subsequently denounced, was not tacitly approved by that government. 19. On the 6th of March, 1821, he crossed the Pruth, and erected the standard of revolt in Moldavia. About the same time an adventurer named Theodore Vladimiresco, had revolted in Wallachia, and obtained possession of a great part of the province; he joined his forces to those of Ipsilanti, but being soon detected in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, he was deservedly executed. But there were more traitors than one in the army of Ipsilanti; on the 17th of June he was attacked by a Turkish army, and owing to the treachery of some generals, and the cowardice of others, was totally defeated. In this unfortunate battle, The Sacred Band, consisting of four hundred youthful students, the pride and the hope of Greece, refusing to yield or retreat, fell bravely as their predecessors had done on the fatal field of Chæronei'a. 20. Ipsilanti retreated into the Austrian dominions, intending to pass into southern Greece, where the flame of insurrection had already broken out, but he was seized on by the Austrian government, and detained as a prisoner.

21. When the news of Ipsilanti's revolt reached Constantinople, the Turks commenced a ruthless massacre of all the unfortunate Greeks in their power; among others the venerable patriarch, whom the Greeks looked upon as the head of their church, was butchered. Similar scenes of cruelty were enacted in the different Turkish cities, and there was every reason to believe that the extermination which had been twice proposed before was now seriously contemplated. The Greeks of Morea took up arms on the 1st of May, and the insurrection soon spread through northern Greece and the islands.

22. The war between the Greeks and Turks, like every other war between tyrants and slaves, was distinguished by remorseless massacres on both sides. But there is one of such fearful extent, and surpassing atrocity, that it deserves to be more particularly noticed. The people in the island



Massacre at Scio.

of Sci'o had not taken a very active part in the revolt, and therefore had some claim on the forbearance of their oppressors; but a Turkish fleet, with an army on board, came to the island, and on the 12th of March, 1822, proceeded to butcher every man, woman, and child, whom they could seize. The horrors perpetrated by the barbarians almost exceed credibility; suffice it to say, that at the very lowest estimate upwards of 30,000 unoffending individuals were murdered in cold blood. 23. The campaigns of 1822-3 and 4 were, on the whole, favourable to the Grecian cause; but the disputes which broke out between the leaders of the insurrection, threatened to bring total ruin on their cause. The Turkish fleets were defeated by Miaoulis, the Greek admiral, and several single vessels were destroyed by fire-ships, which the Greeks managed with equal courage and ingenuity. 24. Volunteers from several parts of Europe came to aid the Greeks in their struggle for freedom, and subscriptions were raised for their assistance. Lord Byron, whose poetry had greatly contributed to spread this enthusiasm in favour of Greece, went thither to aid them by his personal exertions, but unfortunately died at Missalonghi, on the 18th of April, 1824.

25. The Greeks, during the entire contest, had persevered in maintaining their own irregular habits of warfare, under the guidance of petty chieftains, called Capitani; they attacked their enemies in small parties, but could seldom be brought to act together. The rivalry between these petty leaders, and the jealousy that from the beginning existed

between the islanders and the inhabitants of the Morea, delayed the establishment of independence, and brought the nation to the very brink of ruin. Early in 1825, Ibrahim Pacha, with an Egyptian army, landed in the Morea; and though the Greek fleet maintained its superiority in several actions, the operations by land were badly conducted, and the Turks in the campaigns of 1825 and 1826 obtained several important advantages. 26. At length the European powers felt themselves called upon, by the interests of humanity, to put an end to these dreadful scenes of slaughter, and a treaty for the pacification of Greece was signed at London, on the 6th of July, 1827, by the representatives of England, France, and Russia. 27. In pursuance of this treaty, orders were sent to the fleets of the three great powers in the Mediterranean, to prevent any landing of fresh troops or stores from Egypt in the Morea, and, if possible, to bring about an armistice. The bad faith of the Turkish commanders induced Sir Edward Codrington, the chief of the allied squadrons, to enter the harbour of Navarino, and try the effect of an imposing display of force. The Turkish vessels having fired on the allied fleet, a brief but fierce engagement ensued, which ended in the total defeat and destruction of the Egyptian and Turkish squadrons.

28. The Turkish sultan was more enraged than terrified by the loss of his fleet at Navarino; he obstinately refused to make any terms with the Greeks, and the ambassadors of the three powers quitted Constantinople. In the following year the Russians invaded the Turkish dominions, and though not very successful in their first campaign, in the second they humbled the power of their opponents to the dust. In the mean time, the French sent a military expedition to assist the Greeks in the Morea; and Ibrahim, in pursuance of a convention, agreed to evacuate the country, and was transported to Egypt with his followers.

The allied powers having restored tranquillity to the country by their energetic measures, now proceeded to settle the government of the country. A limited monarchy was fixed upon as the form suited to the state of the nation, and the crown was offered to prince Leopold, the former husband of the princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV of England. He accepted the offered sovereignty, but subsequently resigned it. Prince Otho, son of the king of Bavaria, was subsequently constituted the sovereign of Greece, and still sustains that office. The country is, however, by no means in a

tranquil and settled state. The evils of long-continued servitude and dependence are not speedily eradicated. But it is to be hoped that the inherent elasticity and vivacity of the Greek character will enable the inhabitants to avail themselves of the means of intelligence and freedom now so extensively diffused in the world; and that Greece will eventually become what it was in the best and brightest ages of antiquity, a free, enlightened, and powerful nation.

Questions for Examination.

1. To which of the divisions of the Roman empire did Greece belong?
2. Was the country ever ruled by Latin princes?
3. What circumstances delayed the fall of Constantinople?
4. Were the princes of western Europe on friendly terms with the Greek emperors?
5. When did the Turks first appear in Europe?
6. How was the fate of Constantinople delayed?
7. When was Constantinople taken?
8. How did the Turks treat the vanquished?
9. Did the Venetians ever obtain possession of southern Greece?
10. What circumstances induced the Greeks to revolt against their oppressors?
11. To what calamities were the Greeks exposed by their first revolt?
12. Did the French invasion of Egypt produce any commotion in Greece?
13. Who headed the Servian insurrection?
14. How was it suppressed?
15. What became of Czerni George?
16. For what purpose was the Hetæria instituted?
17. What circumstances precipitated the Grecian revolt?
18. Who was the first leader of the revolt?
19. Where was Ipsilanti defeated?
20. How was he treated by the Austrians?
21. In what manner were the other Greeks provoked to take up arms?
22. What terrible massacre did the Turks perpetrate?
23. How was the war conducted?
24. What remarkable English nobleman died while assisting the Greeks?
25. How was the Greek cause nearly ruined?
26. What remarkable treaty was made in favour of the Greeks?
27. On what occasion did the allies destroy the Turkish fleet?
28. What recent events have rendered the establishment of Grecian independence certain?

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE LITERATURE OF THE GREEKS.

SECTION I.

THE EPIC AND LYRIC POETS.

1. THE history of Greece would be incomplete were we only to record the civil and military transactions of the several states. Interesting as these occurrences were, the triumphs of Grecian intellect have stronger claims on our attention, for the poets, the orators, the philosophers, and the historians of Greece, not only adorned the nations of their own times, but have contributed largely to the civilization of future ages. Wars, however gloriously conducted, political contests, in which the greatest abilities have been displayed, cannot be contemplated without some feelings of pain; for we cannot but remember that they generated fierce passions, devastated the face of nature, and inflicted countless miseries on our fellow mortals: but the pleasure with which we view the triumphs of genius is wholly unmixed, since they have produced naught but good to the human race. The materials for the early history of Grecian literature are, however, very scanty, and the examination of the many contradictory accounts given of the birth both of literature and science, would lead to disquisitions of greater length than the limits of this volume would permit; a brief sketch is consequently all that can be afforded in the present instance, which may serve as an introduction to further and more mature investigations.

2. It would seem that a love of poetry is natural to man; in every country, however remote or barbarous, the measured harmony of sounds appears to have been cultivated as soon as language was formed. We find in the Scriptures fragments of poetry composed before the flood; and in every country we see the most ancient records and traditions to be the songs of its early bards. 3. It is probable that the primary intention of the arrangement of words into a species of verse was to assist the memory, for the first legislators delivered their laws in a rythmical form, the earliest histori-

ans are invariably poets, and the moral precepts by which the conduct of men in the first stages of civilization was regulated, are, for the most part, poetical fragments. "The piety of the priest and the inspiration of the prophet were intimately connected with the enthusiasm of poetry; and poets who had celebrated the past, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of future generations." 4. Possessing so many claims on the affections and interests of the people, it is not at all wonderful that the character of the poet should seem invested with some peculiar sanctity, and that he should be honoured during his life as a benefactor, and thought worthy of admission to the celestial regions after his death. Accordingly we find that the early rhapsodists of Greece possessed as much authority as the druids of Gaul and Britain, the bards of our Saxon ancestors, or the scalds and rüners of the northern nations. Even kings did not disdain the cultivation of music and poetry, arts which in the earlier ages were always united, and added to their other claims on the obedience of their subjects, the respectful reverence bestowed on the sacred character of the *A'oidoi*, or bards. Amphi'on, the king of Thebes, and Melam'pus, who reigned in Argos, were both so celebrated for their musical and poetic skill, that the inanimate creation is said to have acknowledged the influence of their minstrelsy.

5. Ho'mer is the first of the heathen poets whose works have come down to posterity, but from his own testimony it is sufficiently evident that poetry had been long and successfully cultivated before his time. The names of Or'pheus, Li'nus, and Musæ'us, are alone preserved; their personal history and the nature of their poems were as great secrets two thousand years ago as they are now. Of Ho'mer's life we know nothing, and as little of the age in which he flourished. According to Herod'otus, and the Arundelian marbles, he published his poems about 900 years before the Christian era, that is, nearly three hundred years after the capture of Troy. 6. At that time writing was but little practised, and the productions of the poets were made known by travelling rhapsodists, who supported themselves by reciting the productions of the different poets. Such a practice was common in England under the Saxons, and continued to be observed until very lately in remote parts of Ireland, and in the highlands of Scotland. The length of the Iliad and Odyssey rendered it impossible for any single memory to retain the entire, and we learn from

ancient authors that the rhapsodists only recited select passages, such as "the battle at the ships," "the war of the gods before Troy," "the return of Ulysses," &c. 7. This leads us to the consideration of the often-debated question, whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are really the works of a single mind, or a collection of the popular ballads of the country, formed into a national work, at a time long subsequent to their original publication. From what has been said of the customs of the rhapsodists, it appears very improbable that poems of such length could have been preserved by tradition from the age of Homer to that of Peisis'-tratus, a period of nearly four hundred years, especially as in the latter part of that period, the colonies in Asia Minor, where these poems are said to have been preserved, were harassed by frequent wars with the neighbouring Asiatic nations. The most probable account of the matter appears to be, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain the rhapsodies of many different bards, whose names were lost in the superior merit of Homer, the greatest among them; that these rhapsodies received considerable improvements from time to time, as they were delivered in successive recitations, and that at some period antecedent to the Persian invasion, they were arranged in their present form.

8. It has been already mentioned that these poems belong to the Græco-Asiatic states; enjoying a finer climate and a richer soil, the Greek colonies in Asia Minor far outstripped their parent country in refinement and civilization. Their prosperity excited the jealous avarice of the neighbouring Asiatic princes, and the kings of Lydia especially soon attempted to reduce them into subjection. The great object of the Homeric poems appears to have been the rousing up the spirit and emulation of the colonies, by fixing their attention on the first great war, in which the forces of the Greeks and barbarians were brought into collision, and reminding them how their European ancestors had triumphed over the most powerful of the Asiatic princes, and humbled their proudest city to the dust. 9. The state of society described by Homer resembles very much the condition of Europe in the middle ages. His is the poetry of Grecian chivalry; the feelings that he attributes to his heroes, the vices and virtues which he describes, the mode of warfare, and even many of the customs of private life, are such as existed in Europe when the northern invaders began gradually to lose their pristine ferocity, and cultivate

the first elements of civilization. The heroic character thus impressed on Grecian literature by the first work of sufficient importance to be preserved, was never wholly effaced. Daring courage and deeds of valour were the favourite subjects of the Grecian muse, even when the form of the verse was changed, and tragedy occupied the place of epic poetry. 10. But the religious* influence of the Homeric poems was that which produced the most permanent effect on the character of Grecian literature. The descriptions of the gods, as beings actuated by human feelings, and subject, like men, to the mysterious agency of fate, though probably common to all the *Theogonies*, is most vividly delineated by Homer. Having already noticed the effects of this poetical religion, it is unnecessary to dilate on it in this place.

11. Hesiod followed Homer, but it is impossible to determine at what interval. He tells us himself that he was born at Ascrea, in Bœotia, and relates some interesting particulars of his early life. Like most of the other ancient poets, he wrote a *Theogony*, in which he seems to have introduced many passages belonging to his predecessors. But perhaps the most interesting light in which Hesiod can be viewed is that of a pastoral poet. His didactic poem called the "*Works and Days*," contains the most important precepts of ancient husbandry, delivered in a simple and elegant style. Though Hesiod possesses not the fire and sublimity of Homer, he is a sweet and graceful poet; and though not so much admired, he was probably more esteemed in a country where agriculture was always held in the highest honour.

12. The heroic deeds of kings and generals were the themes of the epic muse, but the changes in the political constitution of Greece introduced other kinds of poetry. The abolition of royalty in the several states called into action the fervid feelings of democracy; and the jealousy of citizens, the rivalry of states, and the numerous popular commotions in free states, gave rise at once to ode and satire. 13. The satirical odes of Archil'ochus are said to have been so fearfully severe, that the objects of his poetic anger committed suicide rather than bear up against the obloquy heaped upon them. 14. While the European Greeks were perfecting their liberty, their brethren in Asia had sunk under the yoke of Persia, and exchanged their

* See Introduction, chapter III.

freedom for luxurious ease. The plaintive elegy, which had been from the earliest ages sacred to songs of grief, they changed into an incentive of pleasure. The moral lesson, deduced by Callinus and Tyrtaeus from the deaths of the heroes whose loss they lamented, was an incentive to emulate their virtue, and revenge their fall; but the comments of the luxurious Asiatics are summed up in the impressive words of Scripture, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." With the exception of Pindar, and a few others, the lyric and elegiac poets were natives either of the colonies or islands, and their strains participated either of the severe or luxurious character, as they were connected either with the free or subjugated states.

15. Pin'dar and Ana'creon are the two lyric poets of whom we have the best opportunities of forming a judgment. Pindar was born about 520 years before Christ, and his life was protracted through the greater part of a century. Of his numerous works, nothing remains but his hymns in honour of the victors at the public games, and a few fragments. These are remarkable for their boldness of thought and sublimity of sentiment, for the magnificence of their diction, and the nervous spirit of every expression. To these qualities the ancient critics have added his judgment in the collocation of the words, but this is an excellence which modern readers are scarcely capable of appreciating. 16. Ana'creon, on the contrary, is remarkable principally for ease and sweetness; he is the poet of refinement and luxury, and unfortunately is full of the most immoral sentiments. 17. The age of the lyric poets may be considered as including the space from the second Messenian war to the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ; so that the second stage of Grecian poetry extends about a century.

Questions for Examination.

1. Why is the literary history of a nation more interesting than the military?
2. Was poetry cultivated at an early period?
3. What seems to have led to the invention of poetry?
4. Were the first poets much respected?
5. When is Homer supposed to have flourished?
6. How were his verses preserved?
7. Is it probable that the Iliad and Odyssey are the productions of a single mind?
8. What seems the chief design of the Iliad?

9. Is there any thing remarkable in the state of society described by Homer ?
10. What was the principal effect produced by the Homeric poems ?
11. What is the character of Hesiod's works ?
12. When were ode and satire introduced ?
13. What proves the severity of the satires of Archilochus ?
14. How did the lyrists of the Asiatic Greeks differ from their European brethren ?
15. What is the character of Pindar ?
16. For what were the odes of Anacreon remarkable ?
17. How long did the age of the lyric poets continue ?

SECTION II.

THE DRAMATIC POETS.

1. THE love of imitation, which is so natural to man, has made dramatic entertainments popular in almost every country. In their origin, they are usually found to be nothing more than the extempore effusions of rustics assembled on a holyday, but as civilization advances, this rude entertainment is refined and improved, until at length it becomes an essential part of the national literature. The very names Tragedy (the song of the goat) and Comedy (the song of the village) sufficiently indicate the meanness of their origin ; let us then see by what gradual process the former became the means of describing the exploits of kings and heroes, while the latter usurped the place of the satirical lyric, in lashing the vices and ridiculing the follies of mankind.

3. The season of the vintage was in ancient Greece the time of greatest festivity ; this lively people then gave themselves up to the gratification of their favourite propensities, the exercise of their sensibility, and the amusement of their fancy. The former object was attained by the recitation of some rhapsody, relating the life and adventures of some favourite hero ; the latter was effected by humorous songs, in which allusions to the characters of some of the spectators were introduced, in order to create a laugh. A goat, as the destroyer of vines, was considered the most appropriate sacrifice to the god of wine, and was therefore proposed as a prize to the different rhapsodists ; hence their recitations, whether serious or humorous, were called by the common name of Tragedy. 4. The rhapsodists soon began to in-

roduce the graces of action, and to identify themselves with the characters they described; this added considerably to the effect of their recitations, and would naturally suggest the idea of a dialogue. In these exhibitions some so far surpassed others, that their fame spread into the neighbouring villages, and they were invited to gratify them also by a display of their talents. Thes'pis invented a moveable stage, fitted up like a wagon, which conveyed these reciters from place to place, and as additional improvements were suggested by experience, the rude outline of the regular drama was soon formed.

5. The Persian invasion roused all the energies of the Grecian nation, and called forth a display of talent, courage, and patriotism, that has never been paralleled. It is at such a time, when the minds of men are filled with sublime feelings, from the contemplation of heroic deeds, that the lofty outpourings of genius are most frequently displayed. Æs'chylus had witnessed that brilliant series of events, which terminated in the destruction of the Persian invaders; and came to his task of perfecting the drama with a mind filled up with ideas of grandeur and honour. 6. The overthrow of potent dynasties, by means, apparently insignificant, the mysterious struggle between human agency and the powers of destiny, the wildest vicissitudes of fortune, are the poet's favourite themes; they appear the most suitable to his gigantic imagination, and they were naturally suggested by the wondrous events which he had witnessed, and the scenes in which he had acted a distinguished part. How far the drama had been improved by Thespis it is impossible to discover, but to Æs'chylus it indisputably owes its perfection. He is in every sense the first of Greek tragedians, and even in the closet his works leave an impression on the mind which cannot be effaced.

6. The character of Soph'ocles was of a softer and milder cast than that of Æs'chylus. He flourished too at a time when the dangers to which the state had been exposed were fast fading from the memory, and when the dread of the Persian power had subsided. His principal aim was to excite the pity of the audience, and few authors have been more successful in raising this emotion. The exaggerations of Æs'chylus, almost bordering on extravagance, filled the soul with wonder and awe, but failed to engage the sympathies of our nature; to Soph'ocles the honour is due of bringing dramatic literature down to a level with our feel-

ings, and making us participate in the emotions of the several characters which he portrays.

8. An ancient critic has described the difference between Soph'ocles and Eurip'ides in brief, but accurate terms—"The former," says he, "portrays men as they ought to be, the latter as they are." Euripides aimed at uniting the character of a poet and moral philosopher; he had been the pupil of Soc'rates, and has introduced many of the precepts of that celebrated sage in his tragedies. The compliment paid by the Sicilians to his verses has been already mentioned in the history of the Syracusan war,* and it may be added, that no Grecian tragedian is so frequently quoted by modern writers. 9. The greatest improvement which Euripides effected was in the choral odes, which he connected more closely with the action of the drama, than his predecessors had done.

10. The chorus being the most remarkable distinction between the ancient and modern drama, a brief description of its nature and character is necessary, in order that the reader may be able to form correct notions of ancient theatrical entertainments. The ancient tragedies were founded on a single continuous action, rather than on a series of events, tending to one great end. They preserved what are called the dramatic unities of time and place, that is, the scene never changed during the entire play, and the time occupied by all the occurrences described was not supposed to exceed that occupied in the representation. As the Greeks spent a great part of their time in places of public resort, the scene of the drama was usually laid in the portico of some public building, or in one of the ordinary places of assembly. In such a place, groups of citizens would naturally be assembled, who were likely to feel an interest in the great event represented as going forward. 11. The Greek tragedians formed these supposed spectators into a chorus, and exhibited them approving or condemning in song the motives and conduct of the principal actors. Between the acts they sung and danced, portraying vividly by their words and gestures the feelings which the occurrences of the drama were supposed to have suggested. Thus the entire representation formed one continuous spectacle, and the minds of the spectators were never permitted to be diverted from the action of the play for a single instant.

12. The theatrical representations at Athens formed part

* Chap. IX. sect. V.

of the national worship of Bacchus, and were conducted on a magnificent scale, at the public expense. Unfortunately the pleasure that the people took in these shows, induced them to lavish on their preparation the treasures intended for the defence of the state.

13. While tragedy was thus arriving at the summit of perfection, the sister art of comedy was acquiring equal triumphs, by the successful exertions of Eu'polis, Crati'nus, and Aristoph'anes. The ancient comedy of the Athenians, however, resembled nothing in the range of modern literature; it was an extravagant burlesque, in which living persons were introduced by their real names, and held up to the ridicule of the audience. From the lash of the comic satirist nothing was safe; gods and heroes, statesman and philosopher, the favourite of the nobility, and the idol of the mob, the general in public life, and the private gentleman in retirement, were all in their turn ridiculed with persevering severity. 14. At length the excesses of the dramatists became so great, that it was necessary to check their licentiousness; they were prohibited from introducing real characters, and therefore had recourse to fictitious personages. The change was probably gradual, but it was soon complete, for after the death of Aristophanes, the Athenian comedy lost all its satirical character, and became similar to that which is witnessed on the modern stage.

Questions for Examination.

1. Why are theatrical amusements so popular?
2. What proves the mean origin of the drama?
3. From what circumstance did Tragedy derive its name?
4. How did the sports of the vintage lead to the invention of the drama?
5. At what time did Æschylus flourish?
6. What is the character of his writings?
7. What is the character of Sophocles as a dramatist?
8. How does Euripides differ from the two preceding tragedians?
9. Did he introduce any improvement?
10. What was the general character of ancient tragedies?
11. How was the chorus introduced?
12. Did the Athenians waste the public treasures in idle shows?
13. What was the general character of ancient comedy?
14. Why was the character of comedy changed?

SECTION III.

THE GREEK HISTORIANS AND ORATORS.

1. THE earliest records of nations are usually found to be popular ballads, reciting the virtues and exploits of some favourite hero; to these succeed annals detailing the most important transactions of each year, compiled by priests or magistrates. As civilization advances, the desire of benefiting by the experience of the past increases; men soon discover that the traditionary songs are disfigured by fiction, and that the works of the annalists are meagre and unsatisfactory; the attempt is soon made to combine accuracy of facts with elegance of style, and history thus attains the dignity of an art. 2. Herod'otus, though not the first Grecian writer of history, was the first who produced an historical work worthy of being transmitted to posterity. He was a native of Halicarnas'sus, in the Græco-Asiatic colonies, and was compelled to leave his country in consequence of political disputes. Having spent the early part of his life in travelling, he returned home, having his mind stored with valuable information; but he was again driven into exile, and forced to seek a refuge from the resentment of his countrymen in Greece. 3. The memorable Persian invasion had just been defeated, and no nobler nor more popular theme could be selected by any historian, than to record the particulars of that great event. To this task Herod'otus devoted himself with great zeal; he interwove with his narrative all the information that he had collected respecting the Egyptians, Scythians, Persians, and other Asiatic nations: the whole was divided into nine books, named after the nine muses. This great work was read publicly at the Olympic games amidst the most rapturous applause, and was soon after repeated with equal success at the Athenian festivals. 4. Simplicity and elegance are the chief characteristics of this historian's style; he writes in the pure Ionic dialect, the richest and softest of all the varieties of the Grecian tongue. In general, he is a very faithful recorder of facts, and may be implicitly trusted, when he states any thing on his own authority; but he possessed no small share of credulity, and has consequently inserted many absurd fables, derived from other

sources. Herodotus is frequently called the father of history, and owes the name as much to his merits, as his antiquity ; he is usually said to hold the same rank among historians that Ho'mer does among the poets, and Demos'thenes among the orators.

5. At one of the public recitations of his history, the notice of Herod'otus was attracted by a young lad who was affected to tears, by the beauty of the narrative. Such gratifying homage induced him to seek the youth's acquaintance, and he discovered in him such talent and sensibility, as persuaded him that he had found a successor. Thucyd'ides, who had shown such sensibility at this early age, was descended from an illustrious Athenian family, that had already produced many warriors and statesmen ; he was himself educated for public life, and held an important command in the Athenian army, during the first Peloponnesian war. 6. He was driven into exile by the faction of Cle'on, and employed himself during his banishment in writing the history of the great struggle, in which he had borne a part. The fame of this history has increased with its age, for the writer, in addition to his predecessor's powers of description, possesses great political wisdom, and a practical knowledge of state affairs. 7. The work is written in the Attic dialect, and in a nervous animated style ; the descriptions are very concise and vigorous, the sentiments truly noble, and the reflections interspersed through the narrative equally ingenious and judicious. The impartiality of Thucyd'ides deserves the highest praise ; he nowhere betrays the least resentment against his countrymen or the faction of Cleon, by which he had been driven into banishment. He faithfully details the virtues and the crimes which the intestine wars of Greece displayed, and if, as some complain, the darker traits predominate, let it be remembered that the Peloponnesian partook largely of the character of civil wars. The great fault of Thucyd'ides is his distribution of the work into summers and winters, paying more regard to unity of time than unity of action ; the reader is thus prevented from immediately tracing the progress of events, and is hurried from place to place, with a rapidity that naturally produces confusion. 8. The greatest compliment ever paid to any historian, was that which Demos'thenes bestowed on this writer. The illustrious orator was so deeply impressed with the merits of Thucyd'ides, that he transcribed his work eight times, and had read it so frequently that he could repeat

the greater part by rote. The history of Thucyd'ides terminates with the twenty-first year of the war; continuations were written by Theopom'pus and Xen'ophon.

9. Xen'ophon equally distinguished himself as a philosopher, a general, and an historian. In his early life he attracted the attention of Soc'rates, and was instructed by that sage in all the duties of public and private life. The iniquitous rebellion of the younger Cy'rus against his brother Artaxer'xes, led to the celebrated expedition of the younger Cy'rus, in which Xen'ophon acted a very conspicuous part. Love of glory, rather than desire of pay and plunder, induced him to join in a war utterly indefensible on any moral ground, and forbidden by the laws of his country, then in alliance with Artaxerxes. 10. Xen'ophon's first work was the history of this expedition, written with a minuteness and accuracy not very usual amongst the ancients. Sentence of banishment was pronounced against him during his absence, and on his return, he was indebted to the patronage of the Lacedæmonians for a place of refuge. In this retirement he wrote the Life of Cyrus, which is a species of historical romance; the Memorables of Socrates, the most interesting record of that philosopher's life; and a continuation of the great history of Thucyd'ides. 11. The style of Xen'ophon is above all praise, but his fidelity in the last named work is more than suspicious; he is every where the advocate of the Spartans, and attempts to raise the perfidious Agesila'us into the character of a perfect hero. His violent prejudices in favour of aristocratic governments are every where apparent, and he scruples not to attack his native land unjustly, on account of the popular form of its constitution.

12. Having thus briefly noticed the three greatest Grecian historians, we must turn to the orators, whose triumphs of genius are still more remarkable. The Athenians possessing a form of government, which has been aptly enough termed the "extreme of democracy," were naturally the first to cultivate public speaking. The entire administration of the affairs of government belonged to the general assembly of the people, and there was no more certain road to fame and fortune than the conciliation of their favour by the charms of eloquence. 13. But the Athenian populace were not a mere mob, whom fluent nonsense would captivate, or who would prefer the brawling demagogue to the polished statesman. They possessed a finer and more delicate organiza-

tion than the inhabitants of more northern climates ; their musical taste was cultivated, and their perception of the beauties of style strengthened by the musical and literary contests at the public festivals ; the more laborious employments being filled by slaves, allowed the citizens leisure to attend to affairs of state, and we have several very amusing descriptions in the comic writers, of the absolute rage for legislation, which pervaded all classes in Athens. There was, consequently, to use a commercial phrase, “a great demand for orators in the market, and consequently there was a corresponding supply.”

14. Pericles was the first great Athenian orator, as well as the greatest Athenian statesman ; his style of speaking, and in some measure his general character, resembled that of the late Mr. Canning, who has been frequently compared to him by modern writers. The power that he possessed in Athens was entirely owing to his splendid abilities, but he died too soon for his own fame and for his country's prosperity. The funeral oration which he delivered over those who fell at Nisæ'a, has been reported by Thucydides in his own peculiar style, and therefore cannot be quoted as a specimen, but it probably contains the substance of what he really did say, and may serve to give us some remote conception of those powers, which “wielded at will the fierce democracy.”

15. We have already shown how vastly inferior Alcibiades was to his illustrious uncle, though he seemed destined by fortune to play a similar part. But his fame as a statesman and orator is so very trifling, that there is no necessity to dwell on it here ; and we can only refer to the history of his life, already detailed, for an account of the lamentable effect produced by intellectual power, when destitute of the guidance of moral principle, and the evils caused by misdirected talent, and misapplied industry.

16. The orations of Lysias and Isæus are specimens of Grecian legal oratory, rather than of public eloquence. They are both distinguished by the elegance of their style, and the harmony of their sentences ; the former is the more simple, the latter the more energetic ; but the time in which they flourished, at the close of the Peloponnesian wars, was not favourable to the development of oratorical powers.

17. It has been said by an ancient philosopher, that “great occasions produce great men.” The most important crisis in Grecian history, was the commencement of the great

struggle between the supremacy of Macedon, and the freedom of Greece. "The coming events were casting their shadows before;" after the sword was once drawn, the contest could be decided only by the general and the soldier; but there was a previous interval of feverish excitement, which called for the anxiety of the patriot, and the wisdom of the statesman. It was at this important crisis that Demos'thenes appeared, and endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their impending danger, and to stimulate them to the exertions by which alone their ruin could be averted. 18. His career as a statesman and politician has been already related in the former part of this history, and it only now remains to consider him as an orator. The principal characteristic of the public orations of Demosthenes is vehemence, the reader is hurried on with irresistible force by a succession of glowing sentiments and fervid appeals to his feelings, which convey deeper conviction than an ingenious chain of reasonings. 19. It was not, indeed, the business of Demosthenes to argue, in the ordinary sense of the word, because the Athenians were already convinced of the truths which he wished to impress; the dangerous ambition of Philip was as notorious as the existence of the sun, and the necessity of making vigorous efforts to preserve the independence and maintain the freedom of Athens, was as well known as the necessity of taking nourishment to support life—but the people who so readily made such acknowledgments, were not the less inclined to view their enemy's career without an effort to check and control him. Those who assent to the truth of an orator's principles, and acknowledge the rationality of his system, are not always the most ready to follow his advice: they suffer passion or sloth to overcome the dictates of reason; they see the best, but they still pursue the worst, because they have not sufficient energy to encounter the difficulties which beset the path of rectitude. Such auditors are the most discouraging to a patriotic orator, because, though their applause may cheer him, and the warmest approbation be bestowed on every sentence, yet he soon learns, by better experience, that all this enthusiasm will pass away like a summer-cloud: they hear, they admire, they applaud, and they forget. Such was the character of the audience which Demosthenes had to address, and hence arises that strength, almost amounting to violence, which characterizes his appeals; he succeeded in rousing his countrymen when it was too late; but the

patriotic and fervid harangues which he delivered, contain lessons applicable to every age and every nation, and will be valued by the remotest posterity, as the outpourings of sublime genius, warm feeling, and honest principle.

The age of Demosthenes was fruitful in orators, brought forward by the busy excitement of the time. The speeches of the greater part have been lost to posterity, but the historians enable us to form some judgment of their characters.

20. Dem'ades was originally a common sailor, possessing strong natural powers, which, however, were unpolished by education, and unregulated by moral principle. In private life, his habits were coarse and brutal, and his eloquence was also tinctured with these qualities; but his rude bluntness many times produced a greater effect in the public assemblies than the polished elegance of more refined speakers.

21. Hyper'ides was a speaker of quite an opposite cast; he possessed an exquisite taste, a delicate sense of harmony, and a richly cultivated mind; but excessive refinement is often more injurious than the total want of cultivation; his delicate sensibility rendered him timid and effeminate; he had not sufficient energy and daring to encounter the storms of the public assemblies, but at the law courts he was an able and pleasing advocate.

22. Pho'cion and Lycin'gus seem to have owed their influence rather to their virtuous characters than their oratorical abilities. They were always heard with respect, because it was known that they always spoke from conscientious conviction, and they were consequently more valued as statesmen than admired as orators.

23. Dinar'chus is only known as the accuser of Demosthenes on the charge of having received a bribe from the fugitive Harpalus, to engage the Athenians to protect him from the vengeance of Alexander. The truth of the charge is very doubtful, but it is urged in the invective of Dinar'chus with great art and spirit. The virulence and violence of the attack, however, detract greatly from the merits of the oration.

24. Æschines was a much more formidable rival of Demosthenes; he wants, indeed, the boldness and vehemence of his opponent, but his style is more varied and ornamented. To use the quaint illustration of Quintilian, "Æschines has more flesh and muscle, Demosthenes more bone and sinew." His style is flowing and harmonious, his periods exquisitely polished, and his ridicule very spirited and

graceful. At any other period he would probably have obtained the highest eminence, but he was borne down by the superior talents of his illustrious opponent. *Æs'chines* was the avowed partisan of *Phil'ip*, though at first one of his most vigorous opponents. This desertion of the patriotic party rendered him unpopular, and induced him to cultivate the favour of his audience by rhetorical artifices, rather than noble sentiments, which, indeed, he sometimes pretended to ridicule as forced and affected.

25. With the destruction of the popular forms of government, terminated the list of Grecian orators. They were succeeded by the rhetoricians, who introduced an artificial and florid style of speaking, calculated rather to please the fancy, than animate the heart, or convince the judgment.

26. Even before the commencement of *Demos'thenes'* career *Isoc'rates* had set the example of preparing orations, designed as specimens of elegant composition, and having no reference to public affairs. His panegyric orations are remarkable for their simplicity and dignity, but they want the life and vigour which the necessity of delivering them in public could alone supply. Compared with the speeches of *Demosthenes*, they are like a statue of *Hercules*, contrasted with the living hero; they possess all the features, and all the symmetry of eloquence, but they are dead, cold, and unimpassioned.

27. The Athenian schools of eloquence continued to flourish under the direction of the rhetoricians, until a very late period. Thither the young Roman nobility flocked to receive instruction, and on their return home, introduced the Grecian oratory into *Latium*. It was not, however, possible for any teacher to communicate the powers and skill of *Demosthenes*; instead of his severe and nervous style, the Latins adopted the florid ornamental eloquence which is commonly named the Asiatic style, and which, as has been already mentioned, came into favour after the decline of Grecian freedom.

Questions for Examination.

1. What is the usual commencement of national history?
2. Who was *Herodotus*?
3. On what subject did he write?
4. What is the character of his history?
5. How did *Thucydides* attract the notice of *Herodotus*?

6. Of what period did Thucydides write the history ?
7. What is the character of his work ?
8. How did Demosthenes show his admiration of Thucydides ?
9. Who was Xenophon ?
10. What histories did he write ?
11. For what are his compositions remarkable ?
12. Why was oratory so extensively cultivated by the Athenians ?
13. From what cause were the Athenians made remarkable for their good taste in eloquence ?
14. What was the character of Pericles as an orator ?
15. Was Alcibiades as honourably distinguished as his uncle ?
16. What are characters of Lysias and Isæus ?
17. What great crisis roused the energies of Demosthenes ?
18. For what are his orations chiefly remarkable ?
19. What was the character of his audience ?
20. Who was Demades ?
21. For what was Hyperides remarkable ?
22. How did Phocion and Lycurgus acquire influence in the assemblies of the people ?
23. What is known of Dinarchus ?
24. What was the character of Æschines ?
25. Did any change take place in Grecian oratory after the liberties of the people were destroyed ?
26. What was the character of Isocrates ?
27. What style of eloquence was taught in the Athenian schools ?

SECTION IV.

SCIENCE AND THE FINE ARTS.

1. It has been remarked, with some justice, that "the Greeks, though giants in the fine arts, were pigmies in the exact sciences." The lively and fanciful disposition of the nation indisposed them to that patient research, and careful observation, which is absolutely necessary for making scientific discoveries. It is not, therefore, remarkable, that the best Grecian writers on scientific subjects were generally natives of the commercial colonies ; the regularity of habit that prevails in every trading population prepared the mind for close investigation, and prevented that distraction of thought which is at once a cause and a consequence of the cultivation of elegant literature. 2. The Chaldæ'ans and Egyptians were the first nations of antiquity that cultivated science. The former, while tending their flocks by night, were soon accustomed to note the appearances of the heavenly bodies, and thus, in course of time, they collected the

elements of the first rude system of Astronomy. The fertility of Egypt, depending on the annual overflowings of the Nile, the attention of the inhabitants was soon attracted to the celestial signs that marked the changes of the seasons, and predicted the approach of the periodical inundation. 3. They accordingly extended the observations of the Chaldæans, and greatly improved the science by which their rustic labours were regulated. The waters on these occasions effaced the land-marks, which determined the boundaries of estates, and the consequent confusion which ensued after the inundation had subsided, induced them to search for some means by which the extent of each person's possessions might be ascertained. This gave rise to the invention of Geometry, which as the name implies, was originally limited to the measurement of the earth, but soon became the science which explains the properties and relations of figured space.*

4. Tha'les, a native of Mile'tus in the Asiatic colonies, was the first who introduced the science of the East into Greece. He first taught the true shape of the earth, explained the nature of eclipses, and accurately foretold one solar eclipse. He first divided the heavens into five zones, and recommended the division of the year into 365 days, which he had learned from the Egyptians. He died 548 B.C. 5. The Ionic school of philosophy, which he founded, was remarkable for the cultivation of the mathematical sciences; Anaximan'der, his successor, was the first that constructed globes and maps, and Meton discovered the cycle of 19 years, called after his name, when the courses of the sun and moon again begin from the same point of the heavens. The true system of the universe is supposed to have been originally taught in the Ionic school, but from its apparent inconsistency with the evidence of the senses it was subsequently rejected.

6. Pythag'oras was the most remarkable, perhaps, of all the ancient philosophers; his moral and theological opinions will be better discussed in the next chapter, here we have only to regard his acquirements in mathematics and physics. In search of knowledge, he travelled into the remotest parts of the East, and brought from thence new acquisitions to the sciences of geometry and arithmetic. Unfortunately he introduced with these that love of mystery and allegory for which the Asiatic nations are so remarkable, and the super-

* It is derived from γῆ, the earth, and μετρεω, to measure.

stitious belief in the virtue of certain numbers, which has not yet quite disappeared from the world. He was the first that formed the sciences of numbers and music, and he is said to have discovered that useful property of a right-angled triangle which is developed in the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid. He died at Metapon'tum, in the south of Italy, about 497 B.C.

7. Pla'to, the celebrated disciple of Socrates, was the next that made any great improvement in mathematical science. He is said to have invented the analytic method, which determines the truth or falsehood of a proposition, by ascertaining the truth or falsehood of its consequences. If these consequences be known truths, we can demonstrate the original proposition, by reversing the process; but if the result be falsehood, it is manifest that the original proposition must have been false. The application of this method to geometry, led to the discovery of the properties of the conic sections. But notwithstanding the advances made in geometry by Plato and his followers, they did little to advance natural philosophy. They were careless observers of nature, and looked on geometry more as a subject for speculation, than as a means of developing and explaining the system of the universe.

8. Alexan'dria, in Egypt, became the most famous seat of science, soon after its foundation. The first Ptolemy invited thither the most learned men from every country, and treated them with the greatest kindness. Eu'clid, the celebrated author of the Elements of Geometry, which even at the present day are considered the best introduction to that science, was one of the first philosophers that taught in Alexandria; in consequence of the superior merits of Euclid and his successors, Alexandria long continued to hold the pre-eminence in the mathematical sciences.

9. The application of geometry to the physical sciences appears first to have been made by Archime'des, a native of Sicily. He raised mechanics to the dignity of a science, and by his skill as an engineer long defended Syracuse against the powers of Rome. It would be impossible in our narrow limits to enumerate all the discoveries of Archime'des in geometry and mechanism; suffice it to say, that he first investigated with success the properties of curvilinear figures and solids, and that he discovered some of the most important facts connected with the immersion of bodies in fluids.

10. The Alexandrian school produced about this time two philosophers worthy of being contemporary with Archimedes. These were Eratosthenes, who first attempted to measure the circumference of the earth, by ascertaining the distance and difference of latitude between two places on the same meridian; and Apollonius, whose treatise on Conic Sections is still deservedly esteemed.

11. In later ages the Alexandrian school produced Hipparchus, who first made a catalogue of the stars, Ptolemy, the author of that system of the universe which was generally adopted till within the last two centuries, and Diophantus, the inventor of Algebra.

12. In this brief enumeration, the name of Aristotle has been omitted, because the character of a man whose authority was implicitly acknowledged for nearly two thousand years, as supreme in the learned world, ought not to be hurried over in a brief paragraph. After having attended the lectures of Plato for several years at Athens, he was selected by Philip to superintend the education of Alexander, and discharged his duty with so much ability, that through life he retained the confidence and affection of his royal pupil. Discrimination, and a love of arrangement, appear to have been the principal characteristics of his mind, and hence we find him more frequently employed in forming knowledge, already acquired, into a regular and orderly system, than adding to the stock of information by new discoveries. His literary ambition knew no bounds, he aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral and material world. In the course of his inquiries, he scrupled not to encounter questions, passing the limits of human knowledge, and probably imposed on himself, as he certainly did on others, by giving new names to the difficulties,* instead of solutions. But the formation of such systems was the very cause of the supremacy which he so long maintained; men thought that they were acquiring knowledge, when they were merely increasing their stock of words; the vulgar were easily deceived by the magic of sounds, the more highly valued as they were the less understood, and the professors in universities felt attached to a system which procured them pleasure and profit, with no other mental exertion than that of memory. In the complete revolution which has been

* For instance, explaining motion to be "the act of being in power so far forth as in power."

since effected in the scientific world, Aristotle has been hurled from his throne, and appears to be now as unjustly depreciated as he was once unwisely extolled. The causes of this change do not come within the range of the present history, and we must limit ourselves to the attempt of forming an estimate of his real merits. In the mathematical sciences he was decidedly inferior to Pythag'oras and Pla'to, but he more than compensated for this deficiency by his superiority in logic and criticism. Of logic, indeed, he is sometimes called the inventor, because the numberless improvements which he effected made it entirely a new art. Of his critical works, his Essay on Poetry was the most remarkable, and it still continues to be regarded as a valuable compendium of useful rules, for the guidance of the judgment in appreciating works of literature. His History of Animals was considered one of the most wonderful works of his own age, and it still merits the admiration of posterity ; it contained the description of many species previously unknown, which Alexander had collected in his march through Asia. The Treatises on Ethics and Politics are, however, the most valuable parts of Aristotle's works, and are among the noblest specimens of powerful intellect and subtle reasoning employed on subjects of the highest importance and utility. Of his natural and mental, or as they are sometimes called, his physical and metaphysical philosophy, it is impossible to speak in terms of praise, for like the other philosophers of the period, he preferred indulging in vain speculations to observing the operations of nature, or watching the results of experience. This is but an imperfect sketch of the literary labours of one who so long ruled the learned world, but it is sufficient to show that he was the greatest philosopher, not only of his own, but of all preceding times, and that modern ages have produced few worthy to contest with him the palm.

13. The cultivation of the fine arts, like that of the sciences, began in the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, and were not effectively introduced into Greece until after the defeat of the Persian invasion. The administration, indeed it might almost be called the reign, of Pericles at Athens was directed to securing the permanent glory and prosperity of Athens ; the splendid edifices with which he decorated the city have been already noticed, (Introduction, chap. ii.) and he had the satisfaction of seeing their architectural beauty embellished by the sculptures of the celebrated Phid'ias.

From the age of Pericles to that of Alexander, Greece produced a number of eminent sculptors and painters, who raised the plastic arts to the highest degree of eminence. The few fragments of their labours that have escaped the violence of barbarians and the ravages of time, still continue to be looked upon as models of excellence, and have not been equalled, much less surpassed by any modern artist. A catalogue of the works of Grecian art, and of the mere names of the artists, would be equally tedious and useless; let it be sufficient to mention Phid'ias, whose statues of Jupiter at Olympus, and of Minerva in the Parth'enon at Athens, were said to inspire as much reverence as if the deities themselves had been present.

Questions for Examination.

1. Where were the best Grecian writers on scientific subjects produced?
2. What nation early cultivated science?
3. Why did the Egyptians pay particular attention to geometry and astronomy?
4. Did Thales communicate much knowledge to his countrymen?
5. For what was the Ionian school remarkable?
6. What improvements were made by Pythagoras?
7. Did Plato and his followers advance the cause of science?
8. How did Alexandria become a celebrated school of science?
9. What inventions were made by Archimedes?
10. Were any discoveries made by his contemporaries?
11. Did the Alexandrian school produce any other remarkable men?
12. What was the character of Aristotle's philosophy?
13. Did the fine arts flourish in Greece?

SECTION V.

GRECIAN PHILOSOPHY.

1. THE philosophy of the Greeks,* as of most other nations, began with inquiries into the origin of the universe, the nature of the divinity, and the conditions of human ex-

* It would evidently be impossible to discuss a matter of such importance as the subject of this section in a few pages; all that can be expected is an imperfect sketch of the effect produced by philosophy on the government and character of the Greeks, with a brief outline of the opinions of the leading sects.

istence. These investigations were at first connected with religious notions, because in the eastern countries, from whence Greece derived the seeds of knowledge, all information was confined to the priesthood; but the Greeks, having no hereditary religious order, soon removed those limitations, and philosophy, so far from being united with the popular religion, was frequently found its most dangerous opponent. 2. The speculations of Thales and his followers, of the Ionic school, were principally directed to scientific subjects, and seem not to have been much employed on ethics and theology. Nevertheless, we find, that Anaxag'oras, one of his followers, was banished from Athens, in spite of all the influence of Pericles, because his philosophical opinions were deemed hostile to the popular creed.* This was the commencement of the struggle between philosophy and paganism, which afterwards produced the most important results.

3. The first and greatest political philosopher was Pythag'oras, whose age and history is involved in almost total obscurity, but whose influence spread more widely, and continued longer, than that of any other person recorded in ancient history. He fled from Sa'mos, his native country, to avoid the tyranny of Polyc'rates, and after having travelled through the most remarkable countries of the east, he finally settled at Croto'na, in southern Italy. There he published a system of doctrines inculcating some of the purest principles of morality, and not a few of the truths of natural theology. He brought with him from the east, however, that love of mystery and secrecy, which long distinguished the Asiatics; the doctrines which he taught in public were shrouded in obscure allegories; the explanation was vouchsafed only to his immediate disciples, who formed a close and secret society. The subsequent persecution of the Pythagoreans caused the loss of their works, and it is consequently difficult to discover the real nature of many of their most important doctrines. The strangest appears to have been their belief in Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, which is manifestly a corruption of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. 4. It is not easy to conceive,

* This impiety appears to have been simply explaining omens and prodigies from natural causes, and the assertion that the sun was a globe of fire, and not a chariot driven by Apollo. The similar persecution of Galileo for being wiser than his contemporaries, shows us the intolerance of ignorance in every age.

how any one could have believed, that he had been formerly an animal or another man, though some eastern sects are still said to retain the doctrine ; perhaps the entire difficulty may be resolved by supposing that Pythag'oras simply taught the doctrine of the soul's pre-existence, and the necessity of its passing through successive stages of being before it became sufficiently pure and refined to appear in the presence of the divinity. Such a belief has certainly prevailed in the east, from the remotest ages ; and such a doctrine, so remote from vulgar conceptions, might easily have been distorted and misrepresented by tradition.

5. The secret societies of the Pythagoreans* soon usurped all authority in the Greek cities of southern Italy ; they appear to have been in a great measure identified with the faction of the nobility, and were therefore hated by the partisans of democracy. In a general insurrection of the popular factions, they were suddenly deprived of all authority, and the greater part sentenced to banishment or death. Some settled in Greece, but never arrived at the eminence which they had attained in the Italian states.

6. In Greece itself, the sophists were the first who applied philosophy to political science. They professed to give instructions in the arts of thinking and speaking, and to fit men for the management of affairs of state. The very name of sophist has been long since a term of reproach, because these teachers confined themselves principally to logic and rhetoric, and were more anxious to make their pupils ready debaters, than accurate reasoners. They professed themselves equally ready to defend truth and falsehood, victory in disputation was the sole end of their labours, and this led to a confusion of the distinctions between right and wrong, which produced the worst effects in social life. Habitual indifference to truth soon destroys all moral principle, and is the prolific parent of innumerable vices.

7. Soc'rates began the opposition to the sophists ; he directed the attention of men to the duties imposed on them as men and citizens, in the various relations of life, and thus led men from idle speculations about the origin of the universe, to consider the practical rules by which their conduct should be regulated, and thus laid the foundation of moral philosophy. He formed no connected system, because he made experience rather than theory his guide ; and hence the systems devised by his followers differed from

* See Historical Miscellany, part II.

each other as widely as possible. The circumstances of his death not a little contributed to the strengthening of his influence over posterity, since he was generally venerated as a martyr in the cause of philosophy.

8. The Academy founded by the illustrious Pla'to was the first school of philosophy that derived its origin from the instructions of Soc'rates. Of Plato's character as a writer it is impossible to give even an imperfect notion. "In him the poetical character of Greece expressed itself philosophically." The principal object of inquiry among the different sects was, the nature of the highest good attainable by man, usually termed the *summum bonum*. The Academics held that there were gradations in good; the chief were the attributes of the mind, wisdom and virtue; the second belonged to the body, such as health, beauty, and perfect senses; the third included adventitious circumstances, such as riches, station, and glory. Without the first, they held that the latter would be worthless, but they deemed them necessary additions to the first, in order to constitute perfect happiness.

9. The followers of Aristot'le were called Peripatet'ics, from the Perip'aton,* or public promenade in the Lyceum, where the philosopher delivered his lectures. Their opinions did not materially differ from those of the Academics, except that they appear to have placed a higher value on the gifts of fortune.

10. The Stoics were the first important dissenters from the Academy. They derived their name from the porch† or piazza, under which Ze'no, their founder, delivered his instructions. They held, that virtue was the only good, and vice the only evil. They believed that there was no middle course, no indifferent action; a man was either perfectly wise and virtuous, or wholly insane and depraved. They asserted, that a wise man should never suffer his mind to be affected by external circumstances, but should view with apathy his own misfortunes, and those of his friends and country. It is evident, that they thus banished all the best affections of our nature, and substituted in their place, cold and intolerable self-sufficiency.

11. The Cynics pushed the stoical principles to their wildest extreme. They held, that it was necessary to disregard the habits and opinions of men, and to live solely

* So named from περιπατεω, to walk about.

† στοα, a porch.

according to the dictates of pure reason. Acting on these principles, Anta'thenes and Diog'enes, the founders of the sect, outraged decency and common sense. The name of Cynics* was given them, from their similarity to dogs in their snarling and slovenly habits of life.

12. Aristip'pus of Cyre'ne founded the sect of the Cyrena'ics, who ran into the opposite extreme; they held, that pleasure was the only good, and pain the only evil, a principle which naturally opened the way to every species of licentiousness. Epicu'rus, indeed, who adopted the same principle, endeavoured to correct its dangerous tendency by adding, that virtue was the true source of pleasure, and vice of pain; but his followers did not acknowledge the validity of the reasoning on which the second proposition was founded, especially as he denied the doctrine of the soul's immortality, by which alone it could be reasonably supported.

13. The Skeptics,† of whom Pyr'rho was the most remarkable, were seceders from the Academy. They held, that every thing was equally uncertain; some even affected to doubt their own existence. The New Academics, as the followers of Carne'ades and Arces'ilas were called, adopted the same principle to some extent, and consequently introduced again the worst doctrines of the sophists. Several minor sects were formed from different modifications of these doctrines, which it is not necessary to enumerate. Enough has been said, to show how imperfect were all the systems devised, even by the highest exertions of human reason, and the gratitude that we should feel to the Author of all Mercy, for granting us to live in an age when all these imperfections are remedied by the superior efficacy of revelation.

14. Christianity, the only light which can dispel "the shadows, clouds, and darkness" that rest upon futurity, and solve those doubts and difficulties which unassisted reason attempted in vain, was first preached in Greece by the apostle Paul. Its success was rapid, for the popular religion had sunk beneath the attacks of the philosophers, and no system had been substituted in its stead. The great mass of the people lived literally "without God in the world," for they saw that the faith of their fathers was absurd, but knew not as yet of any better creed. Victims indeed still bled in the temples, and sacrifices smoked on the altars, but

* κυων, a dog.

† From σκεπτομαι, to doubt.

these observances were continued more from habit than from any belief in their efficacy, the spirit and fervour of devotion no longer existed. With this practical infidelity a violent superstition was strangely mingled; new deities were introduced from Egypt, from Asia, and even from the barbarous tribes of Northern Europe; but they still felt a distrust in these objects of their worship, and erected altars to THE UNKNOWN GOD. The preaching of Christianity produced a wonderful change; all that the wisest philosophers had proposed as the end of their speculations was here offered indiscriminately; the nature of man's dependence on his Creator, the design of his creation, the conditions of his future existence—questions which the schools had almost resigned in despair, were explained with a simplicity and clearness that the weakest mind could comprehend. Converts became numerous, and in the course of his brief career, the apostle founded several flourishing churches, in the very seats of luxurious idolatry and haughty philosophy. Greece became a Christian country more rapidly than Italy, because speculations on natural theology were more familiar to its inhabitants; and they were consequently more disposed to seek remedies for the imperfections which they failed not to discover both in the philosophic and vulgar creeds. But unfortunately, many carried into the new religion those habits of fanciful speculation which had so long infested their philosophy. Dissatisfied with the pure simplicity of gospel truth, they laboured to be "wise beyond what is written," and mixing up some of their old theories with the new religion, they introduced most of those strange heresies which in the first two centuries infested the Christian church. The philosophers of Alexandria took the lead in producing this evil, they combined the dreams of Plato with the simple truths of the gospel, and produced systems whose absurdity seems scarce credible in our days. The evil spread into Western Europe, and finally produced the great schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which still continues. It must, however, be added, that the Greeks, during all their miseries and all their sufferings, have steadily adhered to the profession of Christianity, and maintained at least its outward forms, undeterred by bitter persecutions, unallured by the favours with which renegades were rewarded.

Questions for Examination.

1. How did Grecian philosophy differ from Asiatic ?
2. What philosopher was accused of hostility to the popular religion ?
3. Who was Pythagoras ?
4. Can a probable explanation be given of the Metempsychosis ?
5. What led to the dispersion of the Pythagoreans ?
6. What was the nature of the instruction given by the Sophists ?
7. How did Socrates differ from former philosophers ?
- 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. What were the doctrines of the Academics—
Peripatetics—Stoics—Cynics—Epicureans—and Skeptics ?
14. What was the progress of Christianity in Greece ?

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE MINOR GRECIAN STATES, AND OF THE GRECIAN ISLANDS.

SECTION I.

THE MINOR GRECIAN STATES.

IN the preceding history, our attention has been principally engaged by the two leading republics, Athens and Sparta, not merely on account of their superior importance, but because most of the minor states were engaged in their wars, and shared in their fortunes. But there were of course many changes and revolutions occurring in these states, which could not be detailed without destroying the continuity of the narrative, but which are of too much importance to be wholly omitted. The following brief summary contains the leading facts in the history of the several minor states in their geographical order, beginning from the north.

1. The barbarous country of Thrace was early colonized by the Grecians, but more particularly by the Athenians when they obtained supremacy by sea, after the second Persian war. Its original inhabitants were of Pelasgic descent, and made little or no progress in civilization. The greater part of it was subdued by Philip, and from this country both he and Alexander drew some of their best troops. The transfer of the seat of empire from Rome to Byzan'tium, the Thracian metropolis, in a much later age, increased the importance of the country without improving the character of its inhabitants. It fell with its capital, Constantinople, into the power of the Turks, (A.D. 1452.)

2. Thes'saly, in the heroic ages, was the most important division of Greece; from its mountains the Hel'lenes proceeded into Phocis, and from thence descending into the southern plains expelled the Pelas'gi from their ancient habitations. (Page 60.) From the time of the Trojan war

to the Dorian migrations (page 64) Thessaly seems to have declined rapidly, but the causes of the change are unknown. The principal states were those of Phe'ræ and Laris'sa, which were both cruelly oppressed by a succession of tyrannical usurpers, who appear to have met with no resistance from their subjects. About 380 years before the Christian era, Ja'son, the tyrant of Phe'ræ, acquired so much power, that the Grecian states, then exhausted by long mutual wars, had reason to tremble for their liberty. After his assassination (page 224) the sceptre passed rapidly and successively into the hands of his brothers Polydo'rus, Pol'yphron, and Alexander. The last of these was a monster of iniquity; he was conquered by Pelopidas, (page 226,) and finally murdered by his own wife. The distracted state of Thessaly, after the death of Ja'son, made the country an easy prey to the grasping ambition of Philip; it was subdued in the early part of his reign, and thenceforward shared the fortunes of Macedon.

3. Epi'rus was inhabited by several tribes, of which only a small part could claim Hellenic origin. The Molos'si, a Grecian people, were the most powerful of the Ep'irotés, and could boast of having possessed the most permanent government, since the kings of the family of the Æac'idæ, traced their descent in unbroken succession from Pyr'rhus, or Neoptole'mus the son of Achil'les. But it was not until after the Peloponnesian wars that the Molossian sovereigns extended their authority over the entire country; before that period the Thespro'tians, Ores'tians, and some others had their respective monarchs, and the Corinthian colony at Ambra'cia constituted an independent republic. The marriage of Olym'pias, the daughter of Neoptole'mus, seventeenth in descent from Pyrrhus, to Philip, king of Macedon, first connected the Epirotés with the Macedonians, and gave them a share in the general concerns of Greece. Alexander, the son of Neoptole'mus, and brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, was as ambitious of becoming as great a conqueror as his illustrious relative in the east, but having invaded Italy, he was unfortunately slain in Luca'nia. Pyrr'hus II., his son and successor, inherited his father's ambition, and spent his life in a series of wars resembling rather the adventures of a knight errant, than the military expeditions of a king.* He was at length slain in an attack on Argos. (Page 304.)

* See his life in the Historical Miscellany, part II.

After the death of Pyrrhus III., grandson of the preceding prince, the male line of the royal family became extinct, and the Epirotes established a republican form of government, which they preserved until their subjugation by the Romans. (Page 317.) In the modern history of Greece, the Suliotes, who inhabited the mountains of Epi'rus, are celebrated for their heroic resistance to the Turks, and for maintaining their independence until they were subdued by Ali Pacha, a little before the breaking out of the Greek revolution.

4. Meg'aris has been already mentioned as having been a Do'rian colony, established in territories that originally formed part of At'tica. Little of the history of this state has been preserved, but during the greater part of its existence, it was exposed to the bitter hostility of the Athenians. (Page 147.)

5. Bœo'tia was a collection of several republican states, over which Thebes claimed to be paramount. The wars to which this claim gave rise have been already detailed in the course of the history.

6. Pho'cis was first formed into a monarchy by Pho'cus, the leader of a colony from Corinth. About the time of the Dorian migration, a republican constitution was established; the several cities had separate jurisdictions, but the whole country formed but one independent state. Del'phi, and the city of Cris'sa, may, however, be regarded as exceptions, the former being subject to the control of the Amphictyons, and the extensive commerce and consequent wealth of the latter placing it above the control of the Phocian council. The Phocians unfortunately insulted the national religion and national temple of Greece on two memorable occasions; the first was punished by the destruction of their best city, and finest harbour, (page 92;) the consequences of the second were still more calamitous, and terminated in the overthrow of Grecian liberty. (Page 244.)

7. Locris, at the time of the Trojan war, was governed by kings, but subsequently adopted a republican form of government. Little is known of the history of the Locrians, and that little is destitute of interest.

8. Æto'lia was inhabited by the rudest and most barbarous of the Hellenic tribes; they were little better than a race of freebooters, who carried on their predatory excursions by land and sea. In the fabulous history of the heroic ages, several Ætolian princes are very conspicuous, but in the flourishing days of Greece the name of the country

is scarcely mentioned. After the power of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta had been crushed, the Ætolians, united under one head, opposed the Achæan league, (page 306,) on which the last chance of Grecian freedom rested, and thus caused the series of wars which terminated by making the Romans supreme masters of Greece.

9. Acarnania appears in the heroic ages to have been, at least partially, subject to the kings of Ithica. When it obtained independence, and what were the peculiarities of the republican constitutions established in its several cities, are wholly unknown. Stra'tus, and the Amphilochian Ar'gos were the most important states. The latter was allied to the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, and aided Demos'thenes in his expedition against the Æto'lians and Ambra'ciots, (Page 155.)

10. Arcadia, in the Peloponnesus, was considered by its inhabitants as the most ancient of the Grecian states. After the death of Aristoc'rates in the Messenian war, (page 83,) the country became divided into as many petty principalities as there were cities; in a very short time they all adopted republican constitutions of a more democratic kind than was usual in southern Greece. The strength of the nation was wasted in continual wars between the petty states, which could never be brought to unite in a general confederacy.

11. Argolis, in the heroic ages, was the leading state of the Peloponnesus, but subsequently lost its pre-eminence. The principal events in which the Argives were concerned have been already mentioned in the course of the history.

12. Corinth, as we have already seen, played a conspicuous part in the general transactions recorded in Grecian history. The constitution of the state after the expulsion of the kings was aristocratical; but the nobles, like the Venetians in modern times, generally engaged in trade. The extensive commerce, and numerous colonies of Corinth, made it formidable as a naval power, but the wars which the successive revolts of the colonies produced, proved destructive to the prosperity of the parent state. The capture of Corinth by Mummius, (page 319,) made the Romans masters of Greece.

13. The history of Sic'yon and the Achæ'an states has been already sketched, (pages 20, 21.)

14. E'lis on account of the sanctity of its soil (page 19)

was not exposed to any hostile attacks from the neighbouring states, and its inhabitants were too well contented with the happiness and tranquillity they enjoyed to endanger their comforts by ambitious wars. The Eleans, after the abolition of royalty, were governed by a general council of magistrates, and by a senate; the people were excluded from all share in the management of public affairs.

15. Messe'nia was the happiest of the Grecian states until the commencement of the unprincipled wars which subjected the country to Sparta, and sent the inhabitants into exile. (Page 84.) When the Spartans were humbled by the victories of Epaminondas, the Messenians recovered their independence; but the work of the spoiler had been done too effectually for their ever regaining their former prosperity.

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL GRECIAN ISLANDS MENTIONED IN THIS WORK.

1. CORCY'RA, on the west coast of Greece, was colonized by the Corinthians at an uncertain period; it soon acquired independence, and rivalled the parent state in commerce and naval power. At the commencement of the Corcyrean war (page 146) this island was able without assistance to man a fleet of 120 sail of the line. But the dissensions which arose during the war between the aristocratic and democratic factions destroyed the prosperity of the state, and it never again recovered its former eminence.

2. Sal'amis, in the Saronic gulf, was originally peopled by the Ionians. At the time of the Trojan war, it was ruled by Tel'amon, the father of A'jax and Teucer. At an uncertain period it was conquered by the Athenians, and retained in spite of the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants to regain their independence. (Page 88.) This island will ever be memorable for the total defeat of the immense fleet of Xerxes in the strait between it and Attica.

3. Ægi'na, also in the Saronic gulf, was first colonized by the Epidaurians from the opposite coast of Argos. It soon emancipated itself from the Argive yoke, and became one of the most powerful Grecian states. The Æginetans were superior to the Athenians by sea until the time of the

Persian war, but were then subdued by Themis'tocles, (page 104;) they appear to have been very harshly treated by their former rivals, but all attempts to throw off the yoke proved abortive. The dissensions between the partisans of aristocracy and democracy which convulsed all Greece, produced several civil wars in Ægina.

4. Eubœ'a, off the east coasts of At'tica and Bœo'tia, was divided into two states, whose capitals were Chal'cis and Ere'tria. The constitution of both was aristocratic, and the chief power was intrusted to a body of nobles, called Hippob'atæ,* or knights. After the Persian war Eubœ'a became dependent upon Ath'ens, and supplied that state with corn and other provisions which could not be obtained in sufficient abundance from the barren soil of Attica. The oppression of the Athenians made the Eubœans anxious to regain their independence; a dangerous rebellion was crushed by Per'icles, (B.C. 446,) and the attempt was renewed in the second Peloponnesian war. (Page 186.) A knowledge of this disposition of the inhabitants induced Philip to invade the island, but his efforts were defeated by the skill and valour of Phocion. (Page 246.) Eubœ'a remained subject, at least nominally, to Athens, while that state retained its independence.

5. Sa'mos, with a capital of the same name, in the Æge'an sea, was first colonized by the Lele'ges, a Carian tribe. The Ionians next obtained possession of it, and established a free constitution, but were soon brought under the yoke of tyrants. Of these Polyc'rates was the most celebrated, for his abilities, and for the uninterrupted flow of good fortune which he long continued to enjoy. It is said, that his friend and ally, Amasis king of Egypt, terrified at such continued prosperity, advised him to propitiate adverse fortune, by submitting to some voluntary loss. In his obedience to his admonitions, Polyc'rates threw into the sea a valuable ring; but in a few days after, he received a present of a large fish, in whose belly the ring was found. Am'asis no sooner heard of this, than he broke off all intercourse with Polyc'rates, declaring that some great calamity must soon counterbalance such wondrous fortune. The prediction was justified by the event, for Polyc'rates having visited Magne'sia, a city of Asia Minor, was treacherously seized by the satrap, Orœ'tes, and put to death by the most cruel tortures. The Samians joined their Grecian brethren

* From *ἵππος* a horse, and *βαίνειν* to ascend.

in the war against Persia, and behaved with great gallantry. Sa'mos was subjugated by the Athenians, under the command of Pericles, (page 147,) and like the other dependencies of that republic, was very harshly treated. The islanders recovered their independence in the general insurrection of the maritime dependencies of Athens, (page 234,) but were again subdued by Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Augustus Cæsar afterwards restored the freedom of Samos, and it did not become a Roman province before the reign of the emperor Vespasian.

6. Les'bos was one of the earliest settlements of the Pelas'gi, the first inhabitants of Greece, (page 60;) it was afterwards colonized by the Æolians, and from its situation and fertility soon attained considerable eminence. Alcæ'us and Sap'pho were natives of this island, as were also Ari'on and Terpan'der. The inhabitants were so degraded by luxury, that they became an easy prey to the Athenians, whose yoke they soon found intolerable. Their remarkable revolt (page 153) was, however, suppressed, and they remained in subjection until the general revolt of the islands. (Page 234.)

7. The Cyclades were for the most part colonized by Carian tribes, but were afterwards subdued by Hellenic invaders of Ionian and Dorian descent. De'los, sacred to Apol'lo, was the most remarkable; on account of its sanctity it remained unviolated during the Persian war, and was made the depôt of the treasures collected for the defence of Greece. Pa'ros is principally remarkable for its obstinate resistance to Miltiades. (Page 110.) Of the other islands, historians have scarcely mentioned more than the name; they all became tributary to Athens after the Persian war, and threw off the yoke in the general insurrection already mentioned. (Page 234.)

8. Crete, the largest of the Grecian islands, was colonized by several different tribes, called Cure'tes, Pelas'gi, Idæ', Dac'tyli, &c.; with these were afterwards united several Hellenic tribes of Dorian and Æolian descent. The wise institutions of Minos made this a happy and flourishing country even in the heroic ages; but at a later period, the abolition of royalty, and the jealousy of the leading states, Gorti'na and Cnos'sus, filled the island with intestine commotions and bloody civil wars, which ceased not, until the island was subdued by the Romans, (B.C. 66.)

9. Cy'prus, like Crete, was inhabited by a race of mixed origin, but contained fewer Hellenic colonies. After the

Trojan war, Teu'cer being expelled from home by his father Tela'mon, led his followers into Cy'prus, and founded a city, which he called Sal'amis, (now Famagusta,) after his native place. The Phœnicians were, for a long time the lords paramount of the island, and monuments of their dominion still continue. The Egyptians next became its masters, and they were succeeded by the Persians, under Camby'ses, (B.C. 525.) The different states into which the island was divided still retained a qualified independence, and were subject to their own monarchs. They even made war against the Persians on some occasions, and Ones'ilus, king of Sal'amis, joined in the great Ionian insurrection. (Page 102.) In the subsequent wars between the Greeks and Persians, Cy'prus was frequently attacked by the former, and would probably have been subdued, but for the unfortunate death of Ci'mon, at the siege of Sal'amis. At a later period, Evag'oras II. became master of the greater part of the island, and would probably have succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Persia, had not the Spartans sacrificed the common cause of Grecian freedom, by the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas. (Page 212.) The Cyprians afterwards joined in an insurrection of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, but after a desultory struggle, matters were settled by negotiation. The nine small kingdoms continued until the time of Alexander, whom they voluntarily joined in the siege of Tyre, (page 275;) thenceforward Cyprus became a part of the Macedonian monarchy, and shared its fortunes.

10. Rhodes was colonized originally by Asiatic tribes, and seems to have received but a slight mixture of the Hellenic stock. Its inhabitants were devoted to commerce, and did not often interfere in the wars of their neighbours. They were made tributary by Alexander, after he had subdued Asia, but unable to bear the cruelties of his successors, they again threw off the yoke, and by their naval superiority were enabled to maintain their independence. They were reduced under the power of the Romans in the time of Cæsar.

11. Cythe'ra, though a very small and barren island, was a place of considerable importance as a naval station in the Peloponnesian wars. It frequently changed masters, but eventually remained in the power of the Spartans, who justly regarded it as the bulwark of Laconia. In modern times, during the wars between the Turks and Venetians, it became an important naval depôt of the latter. It never was subjected by the Turks, and is now reckoned one of the seven Ionian Islands, under the dominion of Great Britain.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

B.C.		Page
2089	The kingdom of Sicyon founded	59
1856	The kingdom of Argos established by Inachus.....	ib.
1616	Corinth founded by Sisyphus	30
1556	The arrival of Cecrops in Attica, and foundation of Athens	23
1493	Thebes founded by Cadmus, a Phœnician.....	29
1250	The Argonautic expedition.....	62
1225	The misfortunes of Œdipus, and the two Theban wars....	ib.
1174	The Trojan war.....	ib.
1104	The return of the Heracleidæ, and expulsion of the Pello- pidæ from Southern Greece	64
1044	The migration of the Ionian colonies to Asia Minor. The death of Codrus	65
907	The probable era of Homer and Hesiod.....	334
884	The Olympic games instituted, or at least revived by Iphitus and Lycurgus.....	44
880	The constitution of Sparta settled by Lycurgus, the first legis- lator in continental Greece.....	68
814	The kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus, a descendant of Hercules.....	236
776	Corœbus obtains the victory at the Olympic games, from which epoch the Olympiads are reckoned.....	44
760	The Ephori introduced into the government of Sparta.....	70
743	The first Messenian war began, and after continuing nineteen years was terminated by the capture of Ithome.....	77
732	Syracuse founded by a colony from Corinth.....	164
682	The second Messenian war begins, and lasts about fourteen years.....	79
680	The daring exploits of Aristomenes.....	80
670	The age of Tyrtaeus and Archilochus	336
	The Messenians take possession of Zancle, in Sicily, and change its name to Messene	84
624	The murder of Cylon at Athens.....	86
623	Draco furnishes the Athenians with a code of laws.....	87
594	Salamis recovered by the Athenians—Legislation of Solon.	88
590	About this time the first sacred war broke out, and ended with the destruction of Crissa and Cirrha	92
584	Death of Thales, the first great philosopher of Greece....	419
560	The usurpation of Peisistratus... ..	96
535	The first tragedy acted at Athens on the wagon of Thespis	338
526	Learning encouraged at Athens by the Peisistratidæ.....	97
510	The expulsion of Hippias from Athens, and the establish- ment of a democracy by Cleisthenes.....	98
500	The Athenians aid the Ionian colonies in their efforts to throw off the yoke of Persia.....	102

B.C.		Page
497	Death of Pythagoras, at Metapontum, in Italy.....	350
493	Mardonius defeated in his attempt to invade Greece.....	103
490	Battle of Marathon.....	107
	{ Second Persian invasion.....	112
480	{ Battle of Thermopylæ.....	118
	{ Battle of Salamis.....	124
479	{ The battle of Plataea.....	130
	{ The battle of Mycale, on the same day.....	131
478	The rebuilding of the walls of Athens.....	133
475	The death of Pausanias and banishment of Themistocles....	135
470	The victorious career of Cimon, the son of Miltiades.....	139
469	The third Messenian war.....	143
463	The Egyptians aided by the Athenians endeavour to throw off the Persian yoke.....	141
460	The age of lyric poetry draws to a close; about this time Pindar and Anacreon flourished.....	336
456	Death of Æschylus, the founder of tragedy.....	338
449	Death of Cimon, and peace with Persia.....	141
447	A desultory war between the Thebans and Athenians.....	144
	{ A truce concluded between Thebes and Athens.....	ib.
445	{ Herodotus reads his history at the Olympic games and Athenian festivals.....	341
440	The administration of Pericles—Capture of Samos.....	145
435	The war between Corinth and Coreyra.....	146
432	The discovery of the Metonic cycle.....	350
431	The breaking out of the first Peloponnesian war.....	149
430	The great plague at Athens.....	150
429	The death of Pericles.....	152
	{ Plataea taken and destroyed by the Thebans and Spartans...	ib.
427	{ Mitylene captured by the Athenians, the inhabitants spared..	154
	{ The sedition at Coreyra.....	155
	{ The democratic faction, aided by the Athenians, prevails in Coreyra.....	ib.
425	{ Demosthenes fortifies Pylos.....	156
	{ Capture of the Spartans in the island of Sphacteria.....	157
424	{ Aristophanes produces his best satiric comedies.....	340
	{ The Athenians conquer the island of Cythera.....	157
421	Death of Cleon and Brasidas—End of the first Peloponne- sian war.....	158
	{ Sophocles produces some of his most celebrated tragedies...	338
420	{ Alliance between Athens and Argos, brought about by Alci- biades.....	161
416	The expedition against Melos.....	163
415	{ Athenian expedition to Sicily.....	164
	{ Recall and banishment of Alcibiades.....	167
414	Siege of Syracuse.....	169
	{ Total defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.....	173
413	{ The celebrity of Euripides.....	339
	{ The Athenian prisoners that could recite portions of the tragedies of Euripides liberated.....	181
411	The tyranny of the four hundred.....	184
407	Alcibiades recalled from exile.....	186

B.C.		Page
406	The sea-fight at Arginusæ.....	191
405	The battle of Ægos-Potamos....	194
404	{ Lysander captures Athens, and thus puts an end to the second Peloponnesian war.....	196
	{ The murder of Alcibiades.....	199
	{ The thirty tyrants.....	ib.
403	The liberty of Athens restored by Thrasybulus.....	202
401	The expedition of the ten thousand.....	206
400	The accusation and death of Socrates.....	203
398	Expedition of Agesilaus into Asia.....	209
395	The Spartans defeated at Haliartus.....	210
394	The Spartans defeated at Cneidus, but victorious at Coroneia	211
393	The rebuilding of the walls of Athens.....	212
391	Thucydides the historian dies, his work continued by Theo- pompus and Xenophon.....	342
387	The peace of Antalcidas.....	212
385	The war in Cyprus terminated, by the submission of Eva- goras.....	213
383	Treacherous occupation of Thebes by the Spartans.....	214
379	The independence of Thebes restored.....	215
378	Attempt of Sphodrias on the Peiræus.....	216
371	Battle of Leuctra.....	220
370	Murder of Jason, the chief of the Thessalians.....	224
369	The Thebans invade the Peloponnesus, and restore Messenia	223
367	Philip of Macedon brought as a hostage to Thebes.....	225
364	Death of Pelopidas.....	226
363	The battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas.....	230
361	The death of Agesilaus.....	232
360	The Athenians defeated by Philip at Methone.....	237
358	The revolt of the Athenian colonies	234
357	The sacred war occasioned by the Phocians attacking and plundering Delphi.....	239
355	The birth of Alexander the Great.....	241
348	Philip besieges Olynthus.....	243
342	The independence of Eubœa secured by Phocion.....	247
340	Philip invades Scythia.....	249
338	{ The capture of Elateia.....	251
	{ Grecian liberty overthrown at Chæroneia.....	254
336	The death of Philip.....	259
335	{ The destruction of Thebes.....	265
	{ The invasion of the Persian empire by Alexander	269
334	The battle of the Granicus.....	268
333	The battle of Ipsus.....	271
332	Tyre taken and Egypt subdued	275
331	The battle of Arbela.....	277
330	{ The death of Darius.....	281
	{ The oratorical contest between Æschines and Demosthenes	297
329	The defeat of the Asiatic Scythians by Alexander.....	282
328	Disturbances occasioned by Alexander's adoption of Asiatic customs.....	285
327	Alexander invades India.....	286
323	Death of Alexander.....	293

B.C.		Page
322	The Lamian war.....	298
315	Cassander obtains the kingdom of Macedon.....	300
307	Demetrius Poliorcetes captures Athens.....	301
301	The battle of Ipsus.....	298
296	Revolutions in Macedon.....	301
278	The Gauls defeated in their attack on Delphi.....	302
251	Aratus re-establishes the Achæan league.....	303
241	Agis put to death at Sparta for attempting to introduce an Agrarian law.....	304
222	The battle of Sellasia.....	305
210	The Romans stimulate the Ætolians to take up arms against Philip, king of Macedon.....	307
208	The Achæan general, Philopœmen, defeats the Spartan, Machanidas.....	308
207	The Ætolians make peace with Philip.....	ib.
197	The Romans defeat Philip at Cynoscephalæ.....	31
196	The Roman commissioners at the Isthmian games proclaim the liberty of all the Grecian states.....	ib.
191	Lacedæmon joined to the Achæan league by Philopœmen..	312
190	Antiochus, king of Syria, deprived of his influence in Greece by the Romans.....	313
183	Philopœmen put to death by the Messenians.....	314
172	The Romans declare war against Perseus, king of Macedon	315
168	Macedon becomes a Roman province.....	316
147	The capture of Corinth, and subjugation of Greece by the Romans.....	318
87	The Athenians embrace the cause of Mithridates.....	320
86	Athens taken by Sylla, and cruelly sacked.....	321
84	Sylla makes peace with Mithridates.....	ib.
A.D.		
1352	Constantinople taken by the Turks.....	324
1687	The Morea conquered by the Venetians.....	325
1714	————— reconquered by the Turks.....	ib.
1806	Belgrade taken by Czerni George.....	326
1821	Ipsilanti raises the standard of revolt.....	328
1822	The massacre of Scio.....	ib.
1824	Death of Lord Byron at Missolonghi.....	329
1827	{ Treaty of London for the pacification of Greece.....	330
	{ Battle of Navarino.....	ib.

THE END.

MAY 3-1948

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 027 553 692 1